

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

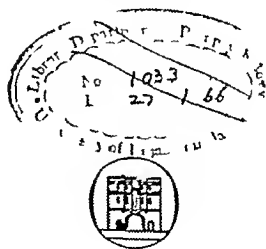
VOLUME II

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY
SIR CHARLES ELIOT

In three volumes
VOLUME II



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BOOK IV
THE MAHAYANA

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CHAPTER XVI

MAIN FEATURES OF THE MAHAYANA

THE obscurest period in the history of Buddhism is that which follows the reign of Asoka but the enquirer cannot grope for long in these dark ages without stumbling upon the word Mahayana. This is the name given to a movement which in its various phases may be regarded as a philosophical school a sect and a church and though it is not always easy to define its relationship to other schools and sects it certainly became a prominent aspect of Buddhism in India about the beginning of our era besides achieving enduring triumphs in the Far East. The word¹ signifies Great Vehicle or Carriage that is a means of conveyance to salvation and is contrasted with Hinayana the Little Vehicle a name bestowed on the more conservative party though not willingly accepted by them. The simplest description of the two Vehicles is that given by the Chinese traveller I-Ching (635-713 A.D.) who saw them both as living realities in India. He says² Those who worship Bodhisattvas and read Mahayana Sutras are called Mahayanists while those who do not do this are called Hinayanists. In other words the Mahayanists have scriptures of their own not included in the Hinayanist Canon and adore superhuman beings in the stage of existence immediately below Buddhahood and practically differing little from Indian deities. Many characteristics could be added to I-Ching's description but they might not prove universally true of the Mahayana nor entirely absent from the Hinayana, for however divergent the two Vehicles may have become when separated geographically for instance in Ceylon and Japan it is clear that when they were in contact as in

¹ Sanskrit, *Mahāyāna*; Chinese, *Ta Ch'eng* (pronounced *Tai Sheng* in many southern provinces); Japanese, *Tai-jō*; Tibetan, *Thay-pa-chew-po*; Mongolian, *Tshai-tshipō*; Sanskrit, *Himayāna*; Chinese, *Hsin-Ch'eng*; Japanese, *Shin-jō*; Tibetan, *Thay-dwan*; Mongolian *Üshākha-tshipō*. In Sanskrit the synonyms *āgāyāna* and *uttama-yāna* are also found.

² Record of Buddhist practices. Transl. Takakusu 1896 p. 14. Hsüan Chuang seems to have thought that acceptance of the Yogācāryabhūmi (Nanjo 1170) was essential for a Mahayanist. See his life, transl. by Beal, p. 39 transl. by Julien, p. 60.

as spells charms and the worship of goddesses and with mis placed ingenuity fitted them into Buddhism I shall treat of it in a subsequent chapter for it is chronologically late The silence of Hsüan Chuang and I-Ching implies that in the seventh century it was not a noticeable aspect of Indian Buddhism

Although the record of the Mahayana in literature and art is clear and even brilliant it is not easy either to trace its rise or connect its development with other events in India Its annals are an interminable list of names and doctrines but bring before us few living personalities and hence are dull They are like a record of the Christian Church's fight against Arians Monophysites and Nestorians with all the great figures of Byzantine history omitted or called in question Hence I fear that my readers (if I have any) may find these chapters repellent a mass of hypotheses and a catalogue of ancient paradoxes I can only urge that if the history of the Mahayana is uncertain its teaching fanciful and its scriptures tedious yet it has been a force of the first magnitude in the secular history and art of China Japan and Tibet and even to-day the most metaphysical of its sacred books the Diamond Cutter has probably more readers than Kant and Hegel.

Since the early history of the Mahayana is a matter for argument rather than precise statement it will perhaps be best to begin with some account of its doctrines and literature and proceed afterwards to chronology I may however mention that general tradition connects it with King Kanishka and asserts that the great doctors Āśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna lived in and immediately after his reign The attitude of Kanishka and of the Council which he summoned towards the Mahayana is far from clear and I shall say something about this difficult subject below Unfortunately his date is not beyond dispute for while a considerable consensus of opinion fixes his accession at about 78 A.D. some scholars place it earlier and others in the second century A.D.¹ Apart from this it appears established that the *Sukhāvatī vyūha* which is definitely Mahayanist was translated into Chinese between 147 and 186 A.D. We may assume that it was then already well known and had been composed some time before so that, whatever Kanishka's date may

¹ The date 58 A.C. has probably few supporters among scholars now especially after Marshall's discoveries.

CHAPTER XVII

BODHISATTVAS

LET us now consider these doctrines and take first the worship of Bodhisattvas. This word means one whose essence is knowledge but is used in the technical sense of a being who is in process of obtaining but has not yet obtained Buddhahood. The Pali Canon shows little interest in the personality of Bodhisattvas and regards them simply as the preliminary or larval form of a Buddha either Sâkyamuni¹ or some of his predecessors. It was incredible that a being so superior to ordinary humanity as a Buddha should be suddenly produced in a human family nor could he be regarded as an incarnation in the strict sense. But it was both logical and edifying to suppose that he was the product of a long evolution of virtue of good deeds and noble resolutions extending through countless ages and culminating in a being superior to the Devas. Such a being awaited in the Tushita heaven the time fixed for his appearance on earth as a Buddha and his birth was accompanied by marvels. But though the Pali Canon thus recognizes the Bodhisattva as a type which if rare yet makes its appearance at certain intervals it leaves the matter there. It is not suggested that saints should try to become Bodhisattvas and Buddhas or that Bodhisattvas can be helpers of mankind.² But both these trains of thought are natural developments of the older ideas and soon made themselves prominent. It is a characteristic doctrine of Mahayanism that men can try and should try to become Bodhisattvas.

¹ In dealing with the Mahayanists, I use the expression Sâkyamuni in preference to Gotama. It is their own title for the teacher and it seems incongruous to use the purely human name of Gotama in describing doctrines which represent him as superhuman.

² But Kings Hsin byu-shin of Burma and Sri Sâryavajras Râma of Siam have left inscriptions recording their desire to become Buddhas. See my chapters on Burma and Siam below. Mahayanist ideas may easily have entered these countries from China, but even in Ceylon the idea of becoming a Buddha or Bodhisattva is not unknown. See *Manual of a Mysore* (P.T.S. 1918), pp. xviii and 140.

terrible furious the slayer of evil beings the destroyer and hater also as carrying skulls and being the mother of the Vedas. Here we have if not the borrowing by Buddhists of a Saiva deity at least the grafting of Saiva conceptions on a Bodhisattva.

The second great Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī¹ has other similar names such as Mañjunātha and Mañjughoṣa the word Mañju meaning sweet or pleasant. He is also Vajrāvara the Lord of Speech and Kumārabhūta the Prince which possibly implies that he is the Buddha's eldest son charged with the government under his direction. He has much the same literary history as Avalokita not being mentioned in the Pali Canon nor in the earlier Sanskrit works such as the *Lalitavistara* and *Dīrgha-dāna*. But his name occurs in the *Sukhāvāsi vyūha* he is the principal interlocutor in the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* and is extolled in the *Ratnakaraṇḍa vyūha sūtra*². In the greater part of the Lotus he is the principal Bodhisattva and instructs Maitreya because though his youth is eternal he has known many Buddhas through innumerable ages. The Lotus³ also recounts how he visited the depths of the sea and converted the inhabitants thereof and how the Lord taught him what are the duties of a Bodhisattva after the Buddha has entered finally into Nirvana. As a rule he has no consort and appears as a male. Athene all intellect and chastity but sometimes Lakṣmī or Sarasvatī or both are described as his consorts⁴.

His worship prevailed not only in India but in Nepal Tibet China Japan and Java. Fa Hsien states that he was honoured in Central India and Hsüan Chuang that there were stupas dedicated to him at Muttra⁵. He is also said to have been incarnate in Atiśa the Tibetan reformer and in Vairocana who introduced Buddhism to Khotan but great as is his benevolence he is not so much the helper of human beings which is Avalokita's special function as the personification of thought.

¹ Chinese, Man-chu-shih li or Wên-shu; Japanese, Monju; Tibetan, bJam pañ dbyana (pronounced Jam yang).

Mañju is good Sanskrit, but it must be confessed that the name has a Central Asian ring.

² Translated into Chinese 270 A.D.

³ Chap. XI and XIII.

A special work Mañjuśrīvikrīḍita (Hanjo, 184-185) translated into Chinese 213 A.D. is quoted as describing Mañjuśrī's transformations and exploits.

⁴ Hsüan Chuang also relates how he assisted a philosopher called Ch'en na (= Dhīrṅga) and bade him study Mahayanist books.

have had time to become celebrated and the visits paid to India by distinguished Chinese Buddhists would be likely to create the impression that China was a centre of the faith and frequented by Bodhisattvas¹. We hear that Vajrabodhi (about 700) and Prajña (782) both went to China to adore Mañjuśrī. In 824 a Tibetan envoy arrived at the Chinese Court to ask for an image of Mañjuśrī and later the Grand Lamas officially recognized that he was incarnate in the Emperor². Another legend relates that Mañjuśrī came from Wn t ai-Shan to adore a miraculous lotus³ that appeared on the lake which then filled Nepal. With a blow of his sword he cleft the mountain barrier and thus drained the valley and introduced civilization. There may be hidden in this some tradition of the introduction of culture into Nepal but the Nepalese legends are late and in their collected form do not go back beyond the sixteenth century.

After Avalokita and Mañjuśrī the most important Bodhisattva is Maitreya⁴ also called Ajita or unconquered who is the only one recognized by the Pali Canon⁵. This is because he does not stand on the same footing as the others. They are super-human in their origin as well as in their career whereas Maitreya is simply a being who like Gotama has lived innumerable lives and ultimately made himself worthy of Buddhahood which he awaits in heaven. There is no reason to doubt that Gotama regarded himself as one in a series of Buddhas; the Pali scriptures relate that he mentioned his predecessors by name and also spoke of unnumbered Buddhas to come⁶. Nevertheless Maitreya or Metteyya is rarely mentioned in the Pali Canon⁷.

¹ Some of the Tantras, e.g. the Mahācakra-māndala, though they do not connect Mañjuśrī with China, represent some of their most surprising novelties as having been brought thence by ancient sages like Vaidyaśrī.

² *J.R.A.S.* new series, xii. 522 and *J.A.S.B.* 1882, p. 41. The name Manchu perhaps contributed to this belief.

³ It is described as a Svayambhū or spontaneous manifestation of the Adi Buddha.

⁴ Sanskrit, Maitreya; Pali, Metteyya; Chinese, Mǐlǐ; Japanese, Mikoku; Mongol, Maidari; Tibetan, Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa). For the history of the Maitreya idea see especially Férri, *B.E.F.E.O.* 1911 pp. 439-457.

⁵ But a Siamese inscription of about 1351 possibly influenced by Chinese Mahayanism speaks of the ten Bodhisattvas headed by Maitreya. See *B.E.F.E.O.* 1917 No. 2, pp. 30-31.

⁶ E.g. in the Mahāparinibbāna Sūtra.

⁷ Dig. Nik. xxvi. 25 and Buddhavaṃsa, xxvii. 19 and even this last verse is said to be an addition.

Christian influence¹ may have supervened but most of this Tamil poetry is explicable as the development of the ideas expressed in the Bhagavad gītā and the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad. Chronologically Christian influence is not impossible and there is a tradition that Mañikka Vāṇagar reconverted to Hinduism some natives of Malabar who had become Christians² but the uncertainty of his date makes it hard to fix his place in the history of doctrine. Recent Hindu scholars are disposed to assign him to the second or third century.³ In support of this it is plausibly urged that he was an active adversary of the Buddhists; that tradition is unanimous in regarding him as earlier than the writers of the Devārām⁴ who make references (not however indisputable) to his poem; and that Perisavar who commented on it lived about 700 A.D. I confess that the tone and sentiments of the poem seem to me what one would expect in the eleventh rather than in the third century. It has something of the same emotional quality as the Cīṭa gorāṇḍa and the Bhāgavata purāṇa though it differs from them in doctrine and in its more masculine derivation. But the Dravidians are not of the same race as the northern Hindus and since this ecstatic monotheism is clearly characteristic of their literature it may have made its appearance in the south earlier than elsewhere.

The Tīruvaṇṇāgāram is not unorthodox but it deals direct with God and is somewhat heedless of priests. This feature becomes more noticeable in other authors such as Paṭṭanaḷḷu Pīḷai Kappilar and the Telugu poet Vēmaṇa. The first named appears to have lived in the tenth century. The other two are legendary figures to whom anthologies of popular gnomic verses are ascribed and some of those attributed to Kappilar are probably ancient. In all this poetry there rings out a note of almost defiant monotheism, iconoclasm and antisacerdotalism. It may

¹ The lines which seem most clearly to reflect Christian influence are those quoted by Caldwell from the *Nāṇa mūru* in the introduction to his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* p. 197 but neither the date of the work nor the original of the quotation is given. This part of the introduction is omitted in the third edition.

² *Tamilen A tēvāru* 4 1800 pp. 57-8.

³ *Id.* pp. 1-27; Sena Aiyar gives 275 A.D. as the probable date and 375 as the latest date.

⁴ The Śaiva catechism translated by Foulkes says (p. 27) that Śiva revealed the Tīruvaṇṇāgāram twice: first to Mañikka Vāṇagar and later to Tīru Kōvalayar.

India and China, the distinction was not always sharp. But in general the Mahayana was more popular, not in the sense of being simpler, for parts of its teaching were exceedingly abstruse, but in the sense of striving to invent or include doctrines agreeable to the masses. It was less monastic than the older Buddhism, and more emotional, warmer in charity, more personal in devotion, more ornate in art, literature and ritual, more disposed to evolution and development, whereas the Hinayana was conservative and rigid, secluded in its cloisters and open to the plausible if unjust accusation of selfishness. The two sections are sometimes described as northern and southern Buddhism, but except as a rough description of their distribution at the present day, this distinction is not accurate, for the Mahayana penetrated to Java, while the Hinayana reached Central Asia and China. But it is true that the development of the Mahayana was due to influences prevalent in northern India and not equally prevalent in the South. The terms Pali and Sanskrit Buddhism are convenient and as accurate as can be expected of any nomenclature covering so large a field.

Though European writers usually talk of *two* Yānas or Vehicles—the great and the little—and though this is clearly the important distinction for historical purposes, yet Indian and Chinese Buddhists frequently enumerate *three*. These are the *Śrāvakayāna*, the vehicle of the ordinary Bhikshu who hopes to become an Arhat, the *Pratyekabuddhayāna* for the rare beings who are able to become Buddhas but do not preach the law to others, and in contrast to both of these the *Mahāyāna* or vehicle of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. As a rule these three Vehicles are not regarded as hostile or even incompatible. Thus the *Lotus sutra*¹, maintains that there is really but one vehicle though by a wise concession to human weakness the Buddha lets it appear that there are three to suit divers tastes. And the Mahayana is not a single vehicle but rather a train comprising many carriages of different classes. It has an unfortunate but distinct later phase known in Sanskrit as Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna but generally described by Europeans as Tantrism. This phase took some of the worst features in Hinduism, such

¹ Saddharma Pundarika, chap. III. For brevity, I usually cite this work by the title of The Lotus.

3

As among the Śaivites so among the Vishnuites of the south history begins with poet-saints. They are called the twelve Ārvārs¹. For the three earliest no historical basis has been found but the later ones seem to be real personalities. The most revered of them is Namm Ārvār also called Sathagopa whose images and pictures may be seen everywhere in south India and receive the same reverence as figures of the gods². He may have lived in the seventh or eighth century A.D.³

The chronology of the Ārvārs is exceedingly vague but if the praises of Śiva were sung by poet-saints in the seventh century it is probable that the Viṣṇu worshippers were not behindhand. Two circumstances argue a fairly early date. First Nāthamuni is said to have arranged the hymns of the Ārvārs and he probably lived about 1000 A.D. Therefore the Ārvārs must have become classics by this date. Secondly the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁴ says that in the Kali age the worshippers of Nārāyaṇa will be numerous in the Dravidian country though in other parts found only here and there and that those who drink the water of the Kaveri and other southern rivers will mostly be devotees of Vāsudeva. This passage must have been written after a Viṣṇu movement had begun in the Dravidian country⁵.

The hymns attributed to the Ārvārs are commonly known by the name of Prabandham or Nālāyiram and are accepted by the Tēngalai Viṣṇuites as their canonical scriptures. The whole collection contains 4000 verses arranged in four parts⁶ and an

¹ Also spelt Alvar and Aṣṭvar. The Tamil pronunciation of this difficult letter varies in different districts. The word apparently means one who is drowned or immersed in the divine love. Cf. *Aṣṭai* the deep sea; *Aṣṭai*, being deep or being immersed.

² An educated Vaishnava told me at Śrirangam that devas and saints receive the same homage.

³ It is possible that the poems attributed to Namm Ārvār and other saints are really later compositions. See *Epig. Ind.* vol. VIII, p. 294.

⁴ xi. 5. 38-40.

⁵ Bhandarkar (*Vaishn. and Śaivism*, p. 50) thinks it probable that Kuladekhara one of the middle Ārvārs, lived about 1130. But the argument is not conclusive and it seems to me improbable that he lived after Nāthamuni.

⁶ The first called Mudal Āyiram consists of nine hymns ascribed to various saints such as Periyārvār and Andal. The second and third each consist of a single work the Periya-tiru moti and the Tiru vāy moti ascribed to Tiru māngai and

Sing sing the marriage song
The sovereign God hath come to my house as my husband
I obtained God as my bridegroom so great has been my good
fortune

A mother beareth not in mind
All the faults her son committeth
O God I am thy child
Why blottest thou not out my sins?"

"My Father is the great Lord of the Earth
To that Father how shall I go?"

The writings of Kabir's disciples such as the Sukh Nidhan attributed to Srut Gopal (and written according to Westcott about 1729) and the still later Amar Mul which is said to be representative of the modern Kabirpanth show a greater inclination to Pantheism though caste and idolatry are still condemned. In these works which relate the conversion of Dharm Das afterwards one of Kabir's principal followers Kabir is identified with the Creator and then made a pantheistic deity much as Krishna in the Bhagavad gītā.² He is also the true Guru whose help is necessary for salvation. Stress is further laid on the doctrine of Śabda or the divine word. Hindu theology was familiar with this expression as signifying the eternal self-existent revelation contained in the Vedas. Kabir appears to have held that articulate sound is an expression of the Deity and that every letter as a constituent of such sound has a meaning. But these letters are due to Māya in reality there is no plurality of sound. Ram seems to have been selected as the divine name because its brevity is an approach to this unity but true knowledge is to understand the Letterless One that is the real name or essence of God from which all differentiation of letters has vanished. Apart from some special metaphors the whole doctrine set forth in the Sukh Nidhan

¹ Macauliffe vi. pp. 230 "99 20" 197

² Westcott ix. p. 144. "I am the creator of this world. I am the seed and the tree. All are contained in me—I live within all and all live within me and much to the same effect. Even in the hymns of the Ādi Granth we find such phrases as "Now thou and I have become one." (Macauliffe vi. p. 150.)

This identification of Kabir with the deity is interesting as being a modern sample of what probably happened in the case of Krishna. Similarly those who collected the hymns which form the sacred books of the Sikhs and Kabirpanthis repeated the process which in earlier ages produced the Rig Veda.

have been, Mahayanist doctrines must have been in existence about the time of the Christian era, and perhaps considerably earlier. Naturally no one date like a reign or a council can be selected to mark the beginning of a great school. Such a body of doctrine must have existed piecemeal and unauthorized before it was collected and recognized and some tenets are older than others. Enlarging I-Ching's definition we may find in the Mahayana seven lines of thought or practice. All are not found in all sects and some are shared with the Hinayana but probably none are found fully developed outside the Mahayana. Many of them have parallels in the contemporary phases of Hinduism.

1 A belief in Bodhisattvas and in the power of human beings to become Bodhisattvas

2 A code of altruistic ethics which teaches that everyone must do good in the interest of the whole world and make over to others any merit he may acquire by his virtues. The aim of the religious life is to become a Bodhisattva, not to become an Arhat.

3 A doctrine that Buddhas are supernatural beings, distributed through infinite space and time, and innumerable. In the language of later theology a Buddha has three bodies and still later there is a group of five Buddhas.

4 Various systems of idealist metaphysics, which tend to regard the Buddha essence or Nirvana much as Brahman is regarded in the Vedanta.

5 A canon composed in Sanskrit and apparently later than the Pali Canon.

6 Habitual worship of images and elaboration of ritual. There is a dangerous tendency to rely on formulæ and charms.

7 A special doctrine of salvation by faith in a Buddha, usually Amítâbha, and invocation of his name. Mahayanism can exist without this doctrine but it is tolerated by most sects and considered essential by some.

was even said to have offered human sacrifices. But the aim of all his ordinances was to make his followers an independent body of fighting men. They were to return the salutation of no Hindu and to put to death every Mohammedan. The community was called *Khalsa*¹ within it there was perfect equality every man was to carry a sword and wear long hair but short trousers. Converts or recruits came chiefly from the fighting tribes of the Jats but in theory admission was free. The initiatory ceremony which resembled baptism was performed with sugar and water stirred with a sword and the neophyte vowed not to worship idols to bow to none except a Sikh Guru and never to turn his back on the enemy. To give these institutions better religious sanction Govind composed a supplement to the Granth called *Dasama Pādshāh ka Granth* or book of the tenth prince. It consists of four parts all in verse and is said to inculcate war as persistently as Nānak had inculcated meekness and peace. To give his institutions greater permanence and prevent future alterations Govind refused to appoint any human successor and bade the Sikhs consider the Granth as their Guru. Whatsoever ye shall ask of it it will show you he said and in obedience to his command the book is still invested with a kind of personality and known as *Granth Sahib*.

Govind spent most of his time in wars with Aurungzeb marked by indomitable perseverance rather than success. Towards the end of his life he retired into Malwa and resided at a place called *Dandama*. The accounts of his latter days are somewhat divergent. According to one story he made his peace with the Mughals and accepted a military command under the successor of Aurungzeb but it is more commonly asserted that he was assassinated by a private enemy. Even more troublous were the days of his successor Banda. Since Govind had abolished the Guruship he could not claim to be more than a temporal chief but what he lacked in spiritual authority he made amends for in fanaticism. The eight years of his leadership were spent in a war of mutual extermination waged with the Moslems of the Panjab and diversified only by internal dissensions. At last he was captured and the sect was nearly annihilated by the Emperor Farukhsiyar. According to the

¹ This Arabic word is interpreted in this context as meaning the special portion (of God).

a grain of mustard seed is also greater than all worlds. The brief exposition of his doctrine which we possess starts from and emphasizes the human self. This self is Brahman. The doctrine of Uddālaka¹ takes the other side of the equation: he starts with Brahman and then asserts that Brahman is the soul. But though he teaches that in the beginning there was one only without a second, yet he seems to regard the subsequent products of this Being as external to it and permeated by it. But to Yājñavalkya is ascribed an important modification of these doctrines, namely, that the Ātman is unknowable and transcendental². It is unknowable because since it is essentially the knowing subject it can be known only by itself: it can never become the object of knowledge and language is inadequate to describe it. All that can be said of it is *neti neti*: that is no, no, it is not anything which we try to predicate of it. But he who knows that the individual soul is the Ātman becomes Ātman: being it, he knows it and knows all the world: he perceives that in all the world there is no plurality. Here the later doctrine of Māyā is adumbrated though not formulated. Any system which holds that in reality there is no plurality or, like some forms of Mahayanist Buddhism, that nothing really exists, implies the operation of this Māyā or illusion which makes us see the world as it appears to us. It may be thought of as mere ignorance as a failure to see the universe as it really is, but no doubt the later view of Māyā as a creative energy which fashions the world of phenomena is closely connected with the half-mythological conceptions found in the Pāncarātra and Śaiva philosophy which regard this creative illusion as a female force—a goddess in fact—inseparably associated with the deity.

The philosophy of the Upanishads like all religious thought in India is avowedly a quest of happiness and this happiness is found in some form of union with Brahman. He is perfect bliss and whatever is distinct from him is full of suffering³. But this sense of the suffering inherent in existence is less marked in the older Upanishads and in the Vedānta than in Buddhism and the Sāṅkhya. Those systems make it their basis and first principle: in the Vedānta the temperament is the same

¹ Chānd. Up. vi.

See Dousson, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*.

Āto syād Ātman. Brihad Ar. III. several times.

In the Pali Canon we hear of Arhats, Pacceka Buddhas, and perfect Buddhas. For all three the ultimate goal is the same, namely Nirvana, but a Pacceka Buddha is greater than an Arhat, because he has greater intellectual powers though he is not omniscient, and a perfect Buddha is greater still, partly because he is omniscient and partly because he saves others. But if we admit that the career of the Buddha is better and nobler, and also that it is, as the Introduction to the Jâtaka recounts, simply the result of an earnest resolution to school himself and help others, kept firmly through the long chain of existences, there is nothing illogical or presumptuous in making our goal not the quest of personal salvation, but the attainment of Bodhisattvaship, that is the state of those who may aspire to become Buddhas. In fact the Arhat, engrossed in his own salvation, is excused only by his humility and is open to the charge of selfish desire, since the passion for Nirvana is an ambition like any other and the quest for salvation can be best followed by devoting oneself entirely to others. But though my object here is to render intelligible the Mahayanist point of view including its objections to Hinayanism, I must defend the latter from the accusation of selfishness. The vigorous and authoritative character of Gotama led him to regard all mankind as patients requiring treatment and to emphasize the truth that they could cure themselves if they would try. But the Buddhism of the Pali Canon does not ignore the duties of loving and instructing others¹, it merely insists on man's power to save himself if properly instructed and bids him do it at once "sell all that thou hast and follow me." And the Mahayana, if less self-centred, has also less self-reliance, and self-discipline. It is more human and charitable, but also more easygoing. It teaches the believer to lean on external supports which if well chosen may be a help, but if trusted without discrimination become paralyzing abuses. And if we look at the abuses of both systems the fossilized monk of the Hinayana will compare favourably

¹ *E.g.* in Itivuttakam 75, there is a description of the man who is like a drought and gives nothing, the man who is like rain in a certain district and the man who is Sabbabhûtânukampako, compassionate to all creatures, and like rain falling everywhere. Similarly in 84, and elsewhere, we have descriptions of persons (ordinary disciples as well as Buddhas) who are born for the welfare of gods and men bahujanahitâya, bahujanasukhâya, lokânukampâya, atthâya, hitâya, sukhâya devamanussânânam.

be remembered that its meaning is not so much that the world and individual existences are illusory in the strict sense of the word as phenomenal. The only true reality is self-conscious thought without an object. When the mind attains to that it ceases to be human and individual it is Brahman. But whenever it thinks of particular objects neither the thoughts nor the objects of the thoughts are real in the same sense. They are appearances, phenomena. This universe of phenomena includes not only all our emotions and all our perceptions of the external world but also what might be supposed to be the deepest truths of religion such as the personality of the Creator and the wanderings of the soul in the maze of transmigration. In the same sense that we suffer pain and pleasure it is true that there is a personal God (Īvara) who emits and reabsorbs the world at regular intervals and that the soul is a limited existence passing from body to body. In this sense the soul as in the Sāṅkhya philosophy is surrounded by the *upādhis* certain limiting conditions or disguises which form a permanent psychical equipment with which it remains invested in all its innumerable bodies. But though these doctrines may be true for those who are in the world for those souls who are agents, enjoyers and sufferers they cease to be true for the soul which takes the path of knowledge and sees its own identity with Brahman. It is by this means only that emancipation is attained for good works bring a reward in kind and hence inevitably lead to new embodiments, new creations of *Māyā*. And even in knowledge we must distinguish between the knowledge of the lower Brahman or personal Deity (Īvara) and of the higher indescribable Brahman.¹ For the orthodox Hindu this distinction

The same distinction occurs in the works of Meister Eckhart († 1327 A.D.) who in many ways approximates to Indian thought, both Buddhist and Vedāntist. He makes a distinction between the Godhead and God. The Godhead is the revealer but unrevealed; it is described as wordless ("Īśvaravākya sa meśa"), the nameless nothing, "the immovable rest." But God is the manifestation of the Godhead the uttered word. All that is in the Godhead is one. Therefore we can say nothing. He is above all names, above all nature. God works so doeth not the Godhead. Therein are they distinguished in working and in not working. The end of all things is the hidden darkness of the eternal Godhead unknown and never to be known." (Quoted by Rufus Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, p. 225.) It may be doubted if Śaṅkara's distinction between the Higher and Lower Brahman is to be found in the Upanishads but it is probably the best means of harmonizing the discrepancies in those works which Indian theologians feel bound to explain away.

with the tantric adept. It was to the corruptions of the Mahayana rather than of the Hinayana that the decay of Buddhism in India was due.

The career of the Bodhisattva was early divided into stages (bhūmi) each marked by the acquisition of some virtue in his triumphant course. The stages are variously reckoned as five, seven and ten. The *Mahāvastu*¹ which is the earliest work where the progress is described enumerates ten without distinguishing them very clearly. Later writers commonly look at the Bodhisattva's task from the humbler point of view of the beginner who wishes to learn the initiatory stages. For them the Bodhisattva is primarily not a supernatural being or even a saint but simply a religious person who wishes to perform the duties and enjoy the privileges of the Church to the full, much like a communicant in the language of contemporary Christianity. We have a manual for those who would follow this path in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva which in its humility, sweetness and fervent piety has been rightly compared with the *De Imitatione Christi*. In many respects the virtues of the Bodhisattva are those of the Arhat. His will must be strenuous and concentrated; he must cultivate the strictest morality, patience, energy, meditation and knowledge. But he is also a devotee, a *bhakta*; he adores all the Buddhas of the past, present and future as well as sundry superhuman Bodhisattvas, and he confesses his sins, not after the fashion of the *Pātimokkha*, but by accusing himself before these heavenly Protectors and vowing to sin no more.

Śāntideva lived in the seventh century² but tells us that he follows the scriptures and has nothing new to say. This seems to be true for though his book being a manual of devotion presents its subject-matter in a dogmatic form, its main ideas are stated and even elaborated in the *Lotus*. Not only are eminent figures in the Church, such as Śāriputra and Ānanda, there designated as future Buddhas, but the same dignity is predicted wholesale for five hundred and again for two thousand

¹ Ed. Senart, vol. i. p. 142.

² The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* was edited by Minayeff, 1889 and also in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* and the *Bibliothèque Indico-Bouddhique* De la Vallée Poussin published parts of the text and commentary in his *Bouddhisme* and also a translation in 1907.

connection with this sensualistic philosophy goes back to a legend found in the Upanishads¹ that he taught the demons false knowledge whose reward lasts only as long as the pleasure lasts in order to compass their destruction. This is similar to the legend found in the Purāṇas that Viṣṇu became incarnate as Buddha in order to lead astray the Daityas. But though such words as Cārvāka and Nāstika are used in later literature as terms of learned abuse the former seems to denote a definite school although we cannot connect its history with dates places or personalities. The Cārvākas are the first system examined in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha which is written from the Vedāntist standpoint and beginning from the worst systems of philosophy ascends to those which are relatively correct. This account contains most of what we know about their doctrines² but is obviously biased it represents them as cynical voluptuaries holding that the only end of man is sensual enjoyment. We are told that they admitted only one source of knowledge namely perception and four elements earth water fire and air and that they held the soul to be identical with the body. Such a phrase as *my body* they considered to be metaphorical as apart from the body there was no ego who owned it. The soul was supposed to be a physical product of the four elements just as sugar combined with a ferment and other ingredients produces an intoxicating liquor. Among verses described as said by Brihaspati occur the following remarkable lines

There is no heaven no liberation nor any soul in another world
Nor do the acts of the āśramas or castes produce any reward.
If the animal slain in the Jyotiṣtoma sacrifice will go to heaven
Why does not the sacrificer immolate his own father?
While life remains let a man live happily; let him feed on butter
even if he runs into debt.

When once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return?"

The author of the Dabistān who lived in the seventeenth century also mentions the Cārvākas in somewhat similar terms³

Brahmanical authors often couple the Cārvākas and Bud dhists. This lumping together of offensively heretical sects may

¹ Maitr. Up. vii. 8.

² See also Suali in *Miscow*, 1903, pp. 277 ff. and the article Materialism (Indian) in *E.R.E.* For another instance of ancient materialism see the views of Pīyāsi set forth in Dig. Nīk. xxiii. The Brihad Ar. Up. iii. 2. 13 implies that the idea of body and spirit being disintegrated at death was known though perhaps not relished.

Translation by Shes and Troyer vol. ii. pp. *91-2.

monks while in Chapter x is sketched the course to be followed by "young men or young ladies of good family" who wish to become Bodhisattvas¹ The chief difference is that the Bodhicaryâvatâra portrays a more spiritual life, it speaks more of devotion, less of the million shapes that compose the heavenly host more of love and wisdom, less of the merits of reading particular sûtras While rendering to it and the faith that produced it all honour, we must remember that it is typical of the Mahayana only in the sense that the De Imitatione Christi is typical of Roman Catholicism, for both faiths have other sides

Śântideva's Bodhisattva, when conceiving the thought of Bodhi or eventual supreme enlightenment to be obtained, it may be, only after numberless births, feels first a sympathetic joy in the good actions of all living beings He addresses to the Buddhas a prayer which is not a mere act of commemoration, but a request to preach the law and to defer their entrance into Nirvana He then makes over to others whatever merit he may possess or acquire and offers himself and all his possessions, moral and material, as a sacrifice for the salvation of all beings This on the one hand does not much exceed the limits of *dānam* or the virtue of giving as practised by Śâkyamuni in previous births according to the Pali scriptures, but on the other it contains in embryo the doctrine of vicarious merit and salvation through a saviour The older tradition admits that the future Buddha (e.g. in the Vessantara birth-story) gives all that is asked from him including life, wife and children To consider the surrender and transfer of merit (*pattidāna* in Pali) as parallel is a natural though perhaps false analogy But the transfer of Karma is not altogether foreign to Brahmanic thought, for it is held that a wife may share in her husband's Karma nor is it wholly unknown to Sinhalese Buddhism² After thus deliberately rejecting all personal success and selfish aims, the neophyte makes a vow (*pranidhâna*) to acquire enlightenment for the good of all beings and not to swerve from the rules of life and faith requisite for this end He is then a "son

¹ The career of the Bodhisattva is also discussed in detail in the Avatamsaka sûtra and in works attributed to Nâgârjuna and Sthiramati, the Lakshana-vimuktahridaya śâstra and the Mahâyâna dharma-dhâtva-viśeshata śâstra I only know of these works as quoted by Teitaro Suzuki.

² See Childers, *Pali Dict* s.v. *Patti*, *Pathanuppadânam* and *Poshâna*

emancipation of mind dies where is he reborn? Vaccha the word reborn does not fit the case." Then Gotama he is not reborn.' To say he is not reborn does not fit the case nor is it any better to say he is both reborn and not reborn or that he is neither reborn nor not reborn.' Really Gotama I am completely bewildered and my faith in you is gone.'

Never mind your bewilderment. This doctrine is profound and difficult. Suppose there was a fire in front of you. You would see it burning and know that its burning depended on fuel. And if it went out (*nibbāyeyya*) you would know that it had gone out. But if some one were to ask you to which quarter has it gone East, West, North or South what would you say?

The expression does not fit the case Gotama. For the fire depended on fuel and when the fuel is gone it is said to be extinguished being without nourishment.

In just the same way all form by which one could predicate the existence of the saint is abandoned and uprooted like a fan palm¹ so that it will never grow up in future. The saint who is released from what is styled form is deep immeasurable hard to fathom like the great ocean. It does not fit the case to say either that he is reborn not reborn, both reborn and not reborn, or neither reborn nor not reborn. Exactly the same statement is then repeated four times the words sensation, perception *sankhāras* and consciousness being substituted successively for the word form. Vaccha we are told, was satisfied.

To appreciate properly the Buddha's simile we must concentrate our attention on the fire. When we apply this metaphor to annihilation, we usually think of the fuel or receptacle and our mind dwells sadly on the heap of ashes or the extinguished lamp. But what has become of the fire? It is hardly correct to say that it has been destroyed. If a particular fire may be said to be annihilated in the sense that it is impossible to reconstitute it by repeating the same process of burning the reason is not so much that we cannot get the same flames as that we cannot burn the same fuel twice. But so long as there is continuous combustion in the same fireplace or pile of fuel, we speak of the same fire although neither the flame nor the fuel remains

¹ Which is said not to grow up again.

of Buddha' a phrase which is merely a natural metaphor for saying that he is one of the household of faith¹ but still paves the way to later ideas which make the celestial Bodhisattva an emanation or spiritual son of a celestial Buddha.

Asanga gives² a more technical and scholastic description of the ten *bhūmis* or stages which mark the Bodhisattva's progress towards complete enlightenment and culminate in a phase bearing the remarkable but ancient name of Dharmamegha known also to the Yoga philosophy. The other stages are called *mudita* (joyful) *virāṭa* (immaculate) *prabhākarī* (light giving) *arcismatī* (radiant) *durjaya* (hard to gain) *obhimukhī* (facing because it faces both transmigration and Nirvana) *dūramgamā* (far-going) *acala* (immovable) *sādhumatī* (good minded).

The incarnate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Tibet are a travesty of the Mahayana which on Indian soil adhered to the sound doctrine that saints are known by their achievements as men and cannot be selected among infant prodigies³. It was the general though not universal opinion that one who had entered on the career of a Bodhisattva could not fall so low as to be reborn in any state of punishment but the spirit of humility and self-effacement which has always marked the Buddhist ideal tended to represent his triumph as incalculably distant. Meanwhile although in the whirl of births he was on the upward grade he yet had his ups and downs and there is no evidence that Indian or Far Eastern Buddhists arrogated to themselves special claims and powers on the ground that they were well advanced in the career of Buddhahood. The vow to suppress self and follow the light not only in this life but in all future births contains no element of faith or fantasy but has any religion formed a nobler or even equivalent picture of the soul's destiny or built a better staircase from the world of men to the immeasurable spheres of the superhuman?

One aspect of the story of Śākyamuni and his antecedent births thus led to the idea that all may become Buddhas. An

¹ It occurs in the Pali Canon, e.g. *Itivut* 1. m. 100. *Tassa me tamhe puttā orasā, makkh to jāti, dh mm jā*.

² See Sylvain Lévi, *Mahāyāna-sādhanaśāstra*. Introduction and passim. For much additional information about the *Bhūmi* see De la Vallée Poussin's article "Bodhi-sattva" in *E.R.E.*

Eminent doctors such as Nāgārjuna and Asanga are often described as Bodhi-sattvas just as eminent Hindu teachers, e.g. Caitanya, are described as Avatāras.

selfless aspirations the austere counsels of perfection and the promises of bliss and something beyond bliss. But the lay morality is excellent in its own sphere—the good respectable life—and its teaching is most earnest and natural in those departments where the hard unsentimental precepts of the higher code jar on western minds. Whereas the monk severs all family ties and is fettered by no domestic affection this is the field which the layman can cultivate with most profit. It was against his judgment that the Buddha admitted women to his order and in bidding his monks beware of them he said many hard things. But for women in the household life the Pīṭakas show an appreciation and respect which is illustrated by the position held by women in Buddhist countries from the devout and capable matron *Viśākhā* down to the women of Burma in the present day. The Buddha even praised the ancients because they married for love and did not buy their wives.¹

The right life of a layman is described in several suttas² and in all of them though almsgiving religious conversation and hearing the law are commended the main emphasis is on such social virtues as pleasant speech kindness temperance consideration for others and affection. The most complete of these discourses the *Sigālovāda-sutta*³ relates how the Buddha when starting one morning to beg alms in *Rājagaha* saw the householder *Sigāla* bowing down with clasped hands and saluting the four quarters the nadir and the zenith. The object of the ceremony was to avert any evil which might come from these six points. The Buddha told him that this was not the right way to protect oneself a man should regard his parents as the east his teachers as the south his wife and children as the west his friends as the north, his servants as the nadir and monks and Brahmins as the zenith. By fulfilling his duty to these six classes a man protects himself from all evil which may come from the six points. Then he expounded in order the mutual duties of (1) parents and children (2) pupils and teachers (3) husband and wife (4) friends (5) master and servant, (6) laity and clergy. The precepts which follow show how much

¹ *Sutta Nipāta*, 229

² E.g. *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dhammika-Sutta* in *Sut. Nip.* ii. 4 and 14.

³ *Diṅ. Nik.* 31

equally natural development in another direction created celestial and superhuman Bodhisattvas. The Hīnayāna held that Gotama, before his last birth, dwelt in the Tushita heaven enjoying the power and splendour of an Indian god and it looked forward to the advent of Maitreya. But it admitted no other Bodhisattvas, a consequence apparently of the doctrine that there can only be one Buddha at a time. But the luxuriant fancy of India, which loves to multiply divinities, soon broke through this restriction and fashioned for itself beautiful images of benevolent beings who refuse the bliss of Nirvana that they may alleviate the sufferings of others¹. So far as we can judge, the figures of these Bodhisattvas took shape just about the same time that the personalities of Vishnu and Śiva were acquiring consistency. The impulse in both cases is the same, namely the desire to express in a form accessible to human prayer and sympathetic to human emotion the forces which rule the universe. But in this work of portraiture the Buddhists laid more emphasis on moral and spiritual law than did the Brahmins: they isolated in personification qualities not found isolated in nature. Śiva is the law of change, of death and rebirth, with all the riot of slaughter and priapism which it entails. Vishnu is the protector and preserver, the type of good energy warring against evil, but the unity of the figure is smothered by mythology and broken up into various incarnations. But Avalokita and Mañjuśrī, though they had not such strong roots in Indian humanity as Śiva and Vishnu, are genui of purer and brighter presence. They are the personifications of kindness and knowledge. Though manifold in shape, they have little to do with mythology, and are analogous to the archangels of Christian and Jewish tradition and to the Amesha Spentas of Zoroastrianism. With these latter they may have some historical connection, for Persian ideas may well have influenced Buddhism about the time of the Christian era. However difficult it may be to prove the foreign origin of Bodhisattvas, few of them have a clear origin in India and all of them

¹ The idea that Arhats may postpone their entry into Nirvana for the good of the world is not unknown to the Pāli Canon. According to the *Maha Parin Sutta* the Buddha himself might have done so. Legends which cannot be called definitely Mahayanist relate how Pindola and others are to tarry until Maitreya come and how Kāśyapa in a less active rôle awaits him in a cave or tomb, ready to revive at his advent. See *J A* 1916, II pp 196, 270.

the holy man is honoured not so much because he will make an immediate return by imparting some instruction or performing some ceremony but because to honour him is a good act which like other good acts will sooner or later find its reward. The Buddha is not represented as blaming the respect paid to Brahmins but as saying that Brahmins must deserve it. Birth and plaited hair do not make a true Brahmin any more than a shaven head makes a Bhikkhu but he who has renounced the world who is pure in thought word and deed who follows the eight-fold path and perfects himself in knowledge he is the true Brahmin¹. Men of such aspirations are commoner in India than elsewhere and more than elsewhere they form a class which is defined by each sect for itself. But in all sects it is an essential part of piety to offer respect and gifts to this religious aristocracy.

¹ The same idea occurs in the Upanishads, e.g. Brih. Ar. Up. iv. 4. 23 "he becomes a true Brahmin."

are much better known in Central Asia and China. But they are represented with the appearance and attributes of Indian Devas as is natural since even in the Pali Canon Devas form the Buddha's retinue. The early Buddhists considered that these spirits, whether called Bodhisattvas or Devas, had attained their high position in the same way as Śākyamuni himself that is by the practice of moral and intellectual virtues through countless existences but subsequently they came to be regarded as emanations or sons of superhuman Buddhas. Thus the Kāraṇḍa vyūha relates how the original Ādi Buddha produced Avalokita by meditation and how he in his turn produced the universe with its gods.

Millions of unnamed Bodhisattvas are freely mentioned and even in the older books copious lists of names are found¹ but two Avalokita and Mañjuśrī tower above the rest among whom only few have a definite personality. The tantric school counts eight of the first rank. Mañjuśrī (who does not stand on the same footing as the others) Samantabhadra Mahāsthāna prāpta and above all Kṣitigarbha have some importance especially in China and Japan.

Avalokita² in many forms and in many ages has been one of the principal deities of Asia but his origin is obscure. His main attributes are plain. He is the personification of divine mercy and pity but even the meaning of his name is doubtful. In its full form it is Avalokiteśvara often rendered the Lord who looks down (from heaven). This is an appropriate title for the God of Mercy but the obvious meaning of the participle *avalokita* in Sanskrit is passive the Lord who is looked at. Kern³ thinks it may mean the Lord who is everywhere visible as a very present help in trouble or else the Lord of View like the epithet *Dṛṣṭiguru* applied to Śiva. Another form of the name is *Lokeśvara* or Lord of the world and this suggests that *avalokita* may be a synonym of *loka* meaning the visible universe. It has also been suggested that the name may refer to the small image of Amṛtābha which is set in his diadem and thus looks down on him. But such small images set in the head of a larger figure are not distinctive of Avalokita they are found

¹ *B.g. Lotus*, chap. 1.

De la Vallée Poussin's article "Avalokita" in *E.R.E.* may be consulted.

² *Lotus*, *S.B.B.* xxi. p. 407.

of a hierarchy and a Bible¹ which are so familiar to us met together to fix and record the opinions and injunctions of the Master or to remove misapprehensions and abuses. It would be better if we could avoid using even the word Buddhist at this period for it implies a difference sharper than the divisions existing between the followers of Gotama and others. They were in the position of the followers of Christ before they received at Antioch the name of Christians and the meeting at Rājagaha was analogous to the conferences recorded in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

The record of this meeting and of the subsequent meeting at Vesālī is contained in Chapters xi and xii of the Cullavagga which must therefore be later than the second meeting and perhaps considerably later. Other accounts are found in the *Dīpaṃśa*, *Mahā Bodhi Vamsa* and *Buddhaghosa's* commentaries. The version given in the Cullavagga is abrupt and does not entirely agree with other narratives of what followed on the death of the Buddha². It seems to be a combination of two documents for it opens as a narrative by Kassapa but it soon turns into a narrative about him. But the clumsiness in compilation and the errors of detail are hardly sufficient to discredit an event which is probable in itself and left an impression on tradition. The Buddha combined great personal authority with equally great liberality. While he was alive he decided all questions of dogma and discipline himself but he left to the Order authority to abolish all the minor precepts. It seems inevitable that some sort of meeting should have been held to consider the position created by this wide permission. Brief and confused as the story in the Cullavagga is there is nothing improbable in its outline—namely that a resolution was taken at Kusinārā where he died to hold a synod during the next rains at Rājagaha—a more central place where alms and lodgings were plentiful and there came to an agreement as to what should be accepted as the true doctrine and discipline. Accordingly five hundred monks met near this town and enquired into the authenticity of the various rules and suttas. They

¹ The mantras of the Brahmins were hardly a sacred book analogous to the Bible or Koran and, besides, the early Buddhists would not have wished to imitate them.

² E.g. *Dig. Nik.* xvi.

in other Buddhist statues and paintings and also outside India, for instance at Palmyra. The Tibetan translation of the name¹ means he who sees with bright eyes. Hsuan Chuang's rendering Kwan-tzū-tsai² expresses the same idea, but the more usual Chinese translation Kuan-yin or Kuan-shih-yin, the deity who looks upon voices or the region of voices, seems to imply a verbal misunderstanding. For the use of Yin or voice makes us suspect that the translator identified the last part of *Avalokiteśvara* not with *Īśvara* lord but with *svara* sound³.

Avalokiteśvara is unknown to the Pali Canon and the *Milinda Pañha*. So far as I can discover he is not mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā* or any work attributed to *Āśvaghoṣa*. His name does not occur in the *Lalitavistara* but a list of Bodhisattvas in its introductory chapter includes *Mahākaruṇācandin*, suggesting *Mahākaruṇa*, the Great Compassionate, which is one of his epithets. In the *Lotus*⁴ he is placed second in the introductory list of Bodhisattvas after *Mañjuśrī*. But Chapter xxiv, which is probably a later addition, is dedicated to his praises as *Samantamukha*, he who looks every way or the omnipresent. In this section his character as the all-merciful saviour is fully developed. He saves those who call on him from shipwreck, and execution, from robbers and all violence and distress. He saves too from moral evils, such as passion, hatred and folly. He grants children to women who worship him. This power, which is commonly exercised by female deities, is worth remarking as a hint of his subsequent transformation into a goddess. For the better achievement of his merciful deeds, he assumes all manner of forms, and appears in the guise of a Buddha, a Bodhisattva, a Hindu deity, a goblin, or a Brahman and in fact in any shape. This chapter was translated into Chinese before 417 A.D. and therefore can hardly be later than 350. He is also mentioned in the *Sukhāvātī-vyūha*.

¹ *ṢPyan-ras gzigs* rendered in Mongol by *Nidubār-udzāka*. The other common Mongol name *Ariobala* appears to be a corruption of *Āryāvalokita*.

² Meaning apparently the seeing and self-existent one. Cf. *Ta-tzū-tsai* as a name of Śiva.

³ A maidservant in the drama *Mālatīmādhava* is called *Avalokitā*. It is not clear whether it is a feminine form of the divine name or an adjective meaning looked at, or admirable.

⁴ *S.B.E.* xxi. pp. 4 and 406 ff. It was translated in Chinese between A.D. 265 and 316 and chap. xxiv was separately translated between A.D. 384 and 417. See Nanjio, Catalogue Nos. 136, 137, 138.

Early Indian Buddhism is said to have been divided into eighteen sects or schools which have long ceased to exist and must not be confounded with any existing denominations. Fa Hsien observes that they agree in essentials and differ only in details and this seems to have been true not only when he wrote (about 420 A.D.) but throughout their history. In different epochs and countries Buddhism presents a series of surprising metamorphoses but the divergences between the sects existing in India at any given time are less profound in character and less violent in expression than the divisions of Christianity. Similarly the so-called sects¹ in modern China, Burma and Siam are better described as schools in some ways analogous to such parties as the High and Low Church in England. On the other hand some of the eighteen schools exceeded the variations permitted in Christianity and Islam by having different collections of the scriptures. But at the time of which we are treating these collections had not been reduced to writing; they were of considerable extent compared with the Bible or Koran and they admitted later explanatory matter. The record of the Buddha's words did not profess to be a miraculous revelation but merely a recollection of what had been said. It is therefore natural that each school should maintain that the memory of its own scholars had transmitted the most accurate and complete account and that tradition should represent the successive councils as chiefly occupied in reciting and sifting these accounts.

It is generally agreed that the eighteen² schools were in existence during or shortly before the reign of Asoka and that six others³ arose about the same period but subsequently to them. The best materials for a study of their opinions are afforded by the text and commentary⁴ of the *Kathāvatthu* a treatise attributed to Tissa Moggallaputta who is said to have been President of the Third Council held under Asoka. It is

¹ An exception ought perhaps to be made for the Japanese sects.

² The names are not quite the same in the various lists and it seems useless to discuss them in detail. See *Dīpaṃśa*, v. 30-48, *Mahāvamsa*, v. ed. in Rhys Davids, *J.R.A.S.* 1891 p. 411. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, chap. vi., Geiger *Trans. of Mahāvamsa*, App. B.

³ The *Hemavarāṅkas*, *Rājagirikas*, *Siddhatas*, *Pabbasellikas*, *Aparasellikas* and *Aparasjagirikas*.

⁴ Published in the *J.P.T.S.* 1889. Trans. by S. Z. Aung and Mrs Rhys Davids, 1915. The text mentions doctrines only. The names of the sects supposed to hold them are supplied by the commentary.

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Avalokita is connected with a mountain called Potala or Potalaka. The name is borne by the palace of the Grand Lama at Lhasa and by another Lamaistic establishment at Jehol in north China. It reappears in the sacred island of P'nto near Ningpo. In all these cases the name of Avalokita a Indian residence has been transferred to foreign shrines. In India there were at least two places called Potala or Potalaka—one at the mouth of the Indus and one in the south. No certain connection has been traced between the former and the Bodhisattva but in the seventh century the latter was regarded as his abode. Our information about it comes mainly from Hsüan Chuang³ who describes it when speaking of the Malakuta country and as near the Mo-lo-ya (Malaya) mountain. But apparently he did not visit it and this makes it probable that it was not a religious centre but a mountain in the south of which Buddhists in the north wrote with little precision⁴. There is no evidence that Avalokita was first worshipped on this Potalaka though he is often associated with mountains such as Kapota in Magadha and Valavati in Kataka⁵. In fact the connection of Potala with Avalokita remains a mystery.

Avalokita has like most Bodhisattvas many names. Among the principal are Mahākaraṇa the Great Compassionate one, Lokanātha or Lokēśvara the Lord of the world and Padmapāni or lotus-handed. This last refers to his appearance as portrayed in statues and miniatures. In the older works of art his figure

¹ Hsüan Chuang (Watters, II. *16, 224) relates how an Indian sage recited the *Bodhi-sattva-dhāraṇī* before Kuan-ti-tsai's image for three years.

As will be noticed from time to time in these pages, the sudden appearance of new deities in Indian literature often seems strange. The fact is that until deities are generally recognised, at least, and works pay no attention to them.

² Watters, vol. II. pp. 223 ff. It is said that Potalaka is also mentioned in the *Hwa-yen-ching* or *Avatamsaka sūtra*. Tibetan tradition connects it with the Śākya family. See Caoma de Kōrōs, *Tibetan studies* reprinted 1912, pp. 33-34.

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⁴ See Foucher, *Iconographie de l'Asie*, 1900, pp. 100, 102.

wearisome. The *Dīpaṃśa* accuses the *Mahāsaṅghikas* of garbling the canon but the Chinese pilgrims testify that in later times their books were regarded as specially complete. One well known work, the *Mahāvastu* perhaps composed in the first century n.e. describes itself as belonging to the *Lokuttara* branch of the *Mahāsaṅghikas*. The *Mahāsaṅghikas* probably represent the elements which developed into the *Mahāyāna*. It is not possible to formulate their views precisely but whereas the *Theravāda* was essentially teaching for the *Bhikkhu* they represented those concessions to popular taste from which Buddhism has never been quite dissociated even in its earliest period.

2

For some two centuries after Gotama's death we have little information as to the geographical extension of his doctrine but some of the Sanskrit versions of the *Vinaya*¹ represent him as visiting *Muttā*, North-west India and *Kashmir*. So far as is known the story of this journey is not supported by more ancient documents or other arguments: it contains a prediction about *Kaniṣhka* and may have been composed in or after his reign when the flourishing condition of Buddhism in *Gāndhāra* made it seem appropriate to gild the past. But the narratives about *Muttā* and *Kashmir* contain several predictions relating to the progress of the faith 100 years after the Buddha's death and these can hardly be explained except as references to a tradition that those regions were converted at the epoch mentioned. There is no doubt of the connection between *Kashmir* and the *Sarastivādins* nor anything improbable in the supposition that the first missionary activity was in the direction of *Muttā* and *Kashmir*.

But the great landmark in the earlier history of Buddhism is the reign of *Aśoka*. He came to the throne about 270 n.e. and inherited the vast dominions of his father and grandfather. Almost all that we know of the political events of his reign is that his coronation did not take place until four years later which may indicate a disputed succession and that he rounded off his possessions by the conquest of *Kalinga* that is the country between the *Mahanadi* and the *Godavari* about 261 n.e.

¹ See especially *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūlāsarastivādins* by Przyluski in *J.A.* 1914 II, pp. 40* ff.

in other Buddhist statues and paintings and also outside India, for instance at Palmyra. The Tibetan translation of the name¹ means he who sees with bright eyes. Hsuan Chuang's rendering Kwan-tzū-tsai² expresses the same idea, but the more usual Chinese translation Kuan-yin or Kuan-shih-yin, the deity who looks upon voices or the region of voices, seems to imply a verbal misunderstanding. For the use of Yin or voice makes us suspect that the translator identified the last part of *Avalokiteśvara* not with *Īśvara* lord but with *svara* sound³.

Avalokiteśvara is unknown to the Pali Canon and the *Mihinda Pañha*. So far as I can discover he is not mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā* or any work attributed to *Āśvaghoṣa*. His name does not occur in the *Lalitā-vistara* but a list of *Bodhisattvas* in its introductory chapter includes *Mahākaruṇācandin*, suggesting *Mahākaruṇa*, the Great Compassionate, which is one of his epithets. In the *Lotus*⁴ he is placed second in the introductory list of *Bodhisattvas* after *Mañjuśrī*. But Chapter XXIV, which is probably a later addition, is dedicated to his praises as *Samantamukha*, he who looks every way or the omnipresent. In this section his character as the all-merciful saviour is fully developed. He saves those who call on him from shipwreck, and execution, from robbers and all violence and distress. He saves too from moral evils, such as passion, hatred and folly. He grants children to women who worship him. This power, which is commonly exercised by female deities, is worth remarking as a hint of his subsequent transformation into a goddess. For the better achievement of his merciful deeds, he assumes all manner of forms, and appears in the guise of a Buddha, a *Bodhisattva*, a Hindu deity, a goblin, or a Brahman and in fact in any shape. This chapter was translated into Chinese before 417 A.D. and therefore can hardly be later than 350. He is also mentioned in the *Sukhāvataḥ-sūtra*.

¹ *Ṣpyan ras gzigs* rendered in Mongol by *Nidubār üdzäkol*. The other common Mongol name *Amrobalo* appears to be a corruption of *Āryāvalokita*.

² Meaning apparently the seeing and self-existent one. Cf. *Ta-tzū tsai* as a name of Śiva.

³ A maidservant in the drama *Mālatīmādhava* is called *Avalokitā*. It is not clear whether it is a feminine form of the divine name or an adjective meaning looked at, or admirable.

⁴ *SBE* xxxi pp. 4 and 406 ff. It was translated in Chinese between A.D. 265 and 316 and chap. XXIV was separately translated between A.D. 384 and 417. See Nanjio, Catalogue Nos. 136, 137, 138.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CANON

I

THERE are extant in several languages large collections of Buddhist scriptures described by some European writers as the Canon. The name is convenient and not incorrect but the various canons are not altogether similar and the standard for the inclusion or exclusion of particular works is not always clear. We know something of four or five canons.

(1) The Pali Canon accepted by the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam and rendered accessible to European students by the Pali Text Society. It professes to contain the works recognized as canonical by the Council of Asoka and it is reasonably homogeneous that is to say although some genuity may be needed to harmonize the different strata of which it consists it does not include works composed by several schools.

(2) The Sanskrit Canon or Canons

(a) Nepalese scriptures. These do not correspond with any Pali texts and all belong to the Mahayana. There appears to be no standard for fixing the canonical character of Mahayanist works. Like the Upanishads they are held to be revealed from time to time.

(b) Buddhist texts discovered in Central Asia. Hitherto these have been merely fragments but the number of manuscripts found and not yet published permits the hope that longer texts may be forthcoming. Those already made known are partly Mahayanist and partly similar to the Pali Canon though not a literal translation of it. It is not clear to what extent the Buddhists of Central Asia regarded the Hinayana and Mahayanist scriptures as separate and distinct. Probably each school selected for itself a small collection of texts as authoritative.¹

(3) The Chinese Canon. This is a gigantic collection of Buddhist works made and revised by order of various Emperors.

¹ See for instance the *Life of Hsüan Tsang*; Boal, p. 39; Julien, p. 60.

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⁴ Just as the Lokanātha sūtra purports to have been delivered at Lankapura samudra-mokṣa-jīkara rendered in the Chinese translation as "in the city of Lok on the summit of the Malaya mountain on the border of the sea."

⁵ See Foucher *Iconographie bouddhique*, 1900, pp. 100, 102.

The canon is often known by the name of *Tripiṭaka*¹ or Three Baskets. When an excavation was made in ancient India it was the custom to pass up the earth in baskets along a line of workmen² and the metaphorical use of the word seems to be taken from this practice and to signify transmission by tradition.

The three Pitakas are known as Vinaya Sutta and Abhi dhamma. Vinaya means discipline and the works included in this division treat chiefly of the rules to be observed by the members of the Saṅgha. The basis of these rules is the *Pāṭi mokkha* the ancient confessional formula enumerating the offences which a monk can commit. It was read periodically to a congregation of the order and those guilty of any sin had to confess it. The text of the *Pāṭimokkha* is in the Vinaya combined with a very ancient commentary called the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*. The Vinaya also contains two treatises known collectively as the *Khandakas* but more frequently cited by their separate names as *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*. The first deals with such topics as the rules for admission to the order and observance of fast days and in treating of each rule it describes the occasion on which the Buddha made it and to some extent follows the order of chronology. For some parts of the master's life it is almost a biography. The *Cullavagga* is similar in construction but less connected in style³.

¹ Pall *Tripiṭaka*.

² So in Maj. Nik. XXI. a man who proposes to excavate comes *kuddaṭṭhiṭṭham* *Adāya*, "With spade and basket."

³ The list of the Vinaya books is:

<i>Pārāṭikam</i>	} together constituting the <i>Sutta vibhaṅga</i> .
<i>Pacittiyaṃ</i>	
<i>Mahāvagga</i>	} together constituting the <i>Khandakas</i> .
<i>Cullavagga</i>	

Parivāra-pāṭha: a supplement and index. This book was rejected by some schools.

Something is known of the Vinaya of the *Sarvāstivādiṇa* existing in a Chinese translation and in fragments of the Sanskrit original found in Central Asia. It also consists of the *Pāṭimokkha* embedded in a commentary called *Vibhaṅga* and of two treatises describing the foundation of the order and its statutes. They are called *Kaśudrakavastu* and *Vinayavastu*. In these works the narrative and anecdotal element is larger than in the Pall Vinaya. See also my remarks on the *Mahāvastu* under the Mahayanist Canon. For some details about the *Dharmagupta Vinaya*, see *J.A.* 1916, II, p. 23; for a lengthy extract from the *Mūlasarv Vinaya*, *J.A.* 1917, II, pp. 493-522.

is human, without redundant limbs, and represents a youth in the costume of an Indian prince with a high jewelled chignon, or sometimes a crown. The head-dress is usually surmounted by a small figure of Amitâbha. His right hand is extended in the position known as the gesture of charity¹. In his left he carries a red lotus and he often stands on a larger blossom. His complexion is white or red. Sometimes he has four arms and in later images a great number. He then carries besides the lotus such objects as a book, a rosary and a jug of nectar².

The images with many eyes and arms seem an attempt to represent him as looking after the unhappy in all quarters and stretching out his hands in help³. It is doubtful if the Bodhisattvas of the Gandhara sculptures, though approaching the type of Avalokita, represent him rather than any other, but nearly all the Buddhist sites of India contain representations of him which date from the early centuries of our era⁴ and others are preserved in the miniatures of manuscripts⁵.

He is not a mere adaptation of any one Hindu god. Some of his attributes are also those of Brahmâ. Though in some late texts he is said to have evolved the world from himself, his characteristic function is not to create but, like Vishnu, to save and like Vishnu he holds a lotus. But also he has the title of Îśvara, which is specially applied to Śiva. Thus he does not issue from any local cult and has no single mythological pedigree but is the idea of divine compassion represented with such materials as the art and mythology of the day offered.

He is often accompanied by a female figure Târâ⁶. In the tantric period she is recognized as his spouse and her images, common in northern India from the seventh century onwards,

¹ Varamudra

² These as well as the red colour are attributes of the Hindu deity Brahmâ

³ A temple on the north side of the lake in the Imperial City at Peking contains a gigantic image of him which has literally a thousand heads and a thousand hands. This monstrous figure is a warning against an attempt to represent metaphors literally

⁴ Waddell on the Cult of Avalokita, *J R A S* 1894, pp. 51 ff. thinks they are not earlier than the fifth century

⁵ See especially Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique*, Paris, 1900

⁶ See especially de Blonay, *Études pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse bouddhique Târâ*, Paris, 1895. Târâ continued to be worshipped as a Hindu goddess after Buddhism had disappeared and several works were written in her honour. See Raj Mitra, *Search for Sk MSS* iv 168, 171, x. 67

Samyutta and Anguttara classify the Buddha's utterances under various headings and presuppose older documents which they sometimes quote¹. The Samyutta consists of a great number of suttas mostly short combined in groups treating of a single subject which may be either a person or a topic. The Anguttara, which is a still longer collection is arranged in numerical groups a method of classification dear to the Hindus who delight in such computations as the four meditations the eightfold path the ten fetters. It takes such religious topics as can be counted in this way and arranges them under the numbers from one to eleven. Thus under three it treats of thought word and deed and the applications of this division to morality of the three messengers of the gods old age sickness and death, of the three great evils lust ill will and stupidity and so on.

The fifth or Khuddaka Nikāya is perhaps the portion of the Pali scriptures which has found most favour with Europeans for the treatises composing it are short and some of them of remarkable beauty. They are in great part composed of verses sometimes disconnected complete sometimes short poems. The stanzas are only imperfectly intelligible without an explanation of the occasion to which they refer. This is generally forthcoming but is sometimes a part of the accepted text and sometimes regarded as merely a commentary. To this division of the Pitaka belong the Dhammapada a justly celebrated anthology of devotional verses and the Sutta Nipāta a very ancient collection of suttas chiefly in metre. Other important works included in it are the Therā and Therīgāthā or poems written by monks and nuns respectively, and the Jātaka or stories about the Buddha's previous births². Some of the rather miscellaneous contents of this Nikāya are late and do not belong to the same epoch of thought as the discourses

¹ The Samyutta quotes by name a passage from the Dīgha as "spoken by the Lord"; compare Sam. Nik. xiii. 4 with Dīg. Nik. 21. Both the Anguttara and Samyutta quote the last two cantos of the Sutta Nipāta.

² It appears that the canonical book of the Jātaka consists only of verses and does not include explanatory prose matter. Something similar to these collections of verses which are not fully intelligible without a commentary explaining the occasions on which they were uttered may be seen in Chāndogya Up. vi. The father's answers are given but the son's questions which render them intelligible are not found in the text but are supplied in the commentary.

show that she was adored as a female Bodhisattva. In Tibet Tārā is an important deity who assumes many forms and even before the tantric influence had become prominent she seems to have been associated with Avalokita. In the Dharma sangraha she is named as one of the four Devis and she is mentioned twice under the name of To lo Pu-sa by Hsüan Chuang who saw a statue of her in Valsali and another at Tiladhaka in Magadha. This last stood on the right of a gigantic figure of Buddha Avalokita being on his left¹.

Hsüan Chuang distinguishes To lo (Tārā) and Kuan tzü tsi. The latter under the name of Kuan yin or Kwannon has become the most popular goddess of China and Japan but is apparently a form of Avalokita. The god in his desire to help mankind assumes many shapes and among these divine womanhood has by the suffrage of millions been judged the most appropriate. But Tārā was not originally the same as Kuan yin though the fact that she accompanies Avalokita and shares his attributes may have made it easier to think of him in female form².

The circumstances in which Avalokita became a goddess are obscure. The Indian images of him are not feminine although his sex is hardly noticed before the tantric period. He is not a male deity like Krishna but a strong bright spirit and like the Christian archangels above sexual distinctions. No female form of him is reported from Tibet and this confirms the idea that none was known in India³ and that the change was made in China. It was probably facilitated by the worship of Tārā and of Hārītī an ogress who was converted by the Buddha and is frequently represented in her regenerate state carrying a child.

¹ About the time of Hsüan Chuang's travels Sarvajñāmītra wrote a hymn to Tārā which has been preserved and published by de Blonay 1891.

² Chinese Buddhists say Tārā and Kuan yin are the same but the difference between them is this. Tārā is an Indian and I am let goddess associated with Avalokita and in origin analogous to the Śaktis of Tantrism. Kuan yin is a female form of Avalokita who can assume all shapes. The original Kuan yin was a male deity; male Kuan-yins are not unknown in China and are said to be the rule in Korea. But Tārā and Kuan yin may justly be described as the same in so far as they are attempts to embody the idea of divine pity in a Madonna.

But many scholars think that the formula Om manipadme hum which is supposed to be addressed to Avalokita, is really an invocation to a form of Śakti called Manipadmā. A Nepalese inscription says that "The Śāktas call him Śakti" (*E.R.E.* vol. II, p. 200 and *J.A.* IX, 192), but this may be merely a way of saying that he is identical with the great gods of all sects.

Dhamma is the usual designation for the doctrine of the Buddha and Buddhaghosa¹ explains the prefix *abhi* as signifying excess and distinction so that this Pitaka is considered pre-eminent because it surpasses the others. This pre-eminence consists solely in method and scope not in novelty of matter or charm of diction. The point of view of the Abhidhamma is certainly later than that of the Sutta Pitaka and in some ways marks an advance for instead of professing to report the discourses of Gotama it takes the various topics on which he touched especially psychological ethics and treats them in a connected and systematic manner. The style shows some resemblance to Sanskrit sūtras for it is so technical both in vocabulary and arrangement that it can hardly be understood without a commentary. According to tradition the Buddha recited the Abhidhamma when he went to heaven to preach to the gods and thus seems a polite way of hinting that it was more than any human congregation could tolerate or understand. Still throughout the long history of Buddhism it has always been respected as the most profound portion of the scriptures and has not failed to find students. This Pitaka includes the *Kathāvatthu* attributed to Tissa Moggallputta who is said to have composed it about 250 B.C. in Asoka's reign².

There is another division of the Buddhist scriptures into nine *angas* or members namely 1 Suttas 2 Geyya mixed prose and verse 3 Gāthā verse 4 Udāna ecstatic utterances 5 Veyyākaraṇa explanation 6 Itivuttaka sayings beginning with the phrase Thus said the Buddha 7 Jātaka stories of former births 8 Abbhutadhamma stories of wonders 9 Vedalla a word of doubtful meaning but perhaps questions

See *J.R.A.S.* 1891 p. 590. See too *Journal P.T.S.* 1910 p. 44 Lexicographical notes.

¹ Mrs Rhys Davids' *Translations of the Dhamma angas* give a good idea of these books.

² The works comprised in this Pitaka are:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Dhamma-saṅgaṇī. | 2. Vibhanga. |
| 3. Kathāvatthu. | 4. Puggala-paṭiṣaṭṭi. |
| 5. Dhātū kathā. | 6. Yamaka. |

7. Paṭṭhāna. The Abhidhamma of the Sarvativādin was entirely different. It seems probable that the Abhidhamma books of all schools consisted almost entirely of explanatory matter and added very little to the doctrine laid down in the suttas. It would appear that the only new topic introduced in the Pali Abhidhamma is the theory of relations (*paṭicca*).

She is mentioned by Hsuan Chuang and by I-Ching who adds that her image was already known in China. The Chinese also worshipped a native goddess called T'ien-hou or T'ou-mu. Kuan-yin was also identified with an ancient Chinese heroine called Miao-shên¹. This is parallel to the legend of Ti-tsang (Kṣitigarbha) who, though a male Bodhisattva, was a virtuous maiden in two of his previous existences. Evidently Chinese religious sentiment required a Madonna and it is not unnatural if the god of mercy, who was reputed to assume many shapes and to give sons to the childless, came to be thought of chiefly in a feminine form. The artists of the T'ang dynasty usually represented Avalokita as a youth with a slight moustache and the evidence as to early female figures does not seem to me strong², though *a priori* I see no reason for doubting their existence. In 1102 a Chinese monk named P'u-ming published a romantic legend of Kuan-yin's earthly life which helped to popularize her worship. In this and many other cases the later developments of Buddhism are due to Chinese fancy and have no connection with Indian tradition.

Târâ is a goddess of north India, Nepal and the Lamaist Church and almost unknown in China and Japan. Her name means she who causes to cross, that is who saves, life and its troubles being by a common metaphor described as a sea. Târâ also means a star and in Puranic mythology is the name given to the mother of Buddha, the planet Mercury. Whether the name was first used by Buddhists or Brahmans is unknown, but after the seventh century there was a decided tendency to give Târâ the epithets bestowed on the Śaktas of Śiva and assimilate her to those goddesses. Thus in the list of her 108 names³ she is described among other more amiable attributes as

¹ Harlez, *Levre des esprits et des immortels*, p. 195, and Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, pp. 94-138.

² See Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, I pp. 105 and 124, Johnston, *Buddhist China*, 275 ff. Several Chinese deities appear to be of uncertain or varying sex. Thus Chun ti is sometimes described as a deified Chinese General and sometimes identified with the Indian goddess Mariçî. Yü ti, generally masculine, is sometimes feminine. See Doré, *l.c.* 212. Still more strangely the Patriarch Aśvaghosha (Ma Ming) is represented by a female figure. On the other hand the monk Ta Shêng (c. 705 A.D.) is said to have been an incarnation of the female Kuan Yin. Mañjuśrî is said to be worshipped in Nepal sometimes as a male, sometimes as a female. See Bendall and Haraprasad, *Nepalese MSS*, p. lxvii.

³ de Blonay, *l.c.* pp. 48-57.

in preaching the Buddha used not Pali in the strict sense but the spoken dialect of Magadha¹ and that this dialect did not differ from Pali more than Scotch or Yorkshire from standard English, and if for other reasons we are satisfied that some of the suttas have preserved the phrases which he employed we may consider that apart from possible deviations in pronunciation or inflexion they are his *ipsissima verba*. Even as we have it the text of the canon contains some anomalous forms which are generally considered to be Magadhisma².

The Cullavagga relates how two monks who were Brahmans represented to the Buddha that monks of different lineage corrupt the word of the Buddha by repeating it in their own dialect. Let us put the word of the Buddhas into *chandasa*³. No doubt Sanskrit *versos* is meant *chandasa* being a name applied to the language of the Vedic verses. Gotama refused. You are not to put the word of the Buddhas into *chandasa*. Whoever does so shall be guilty of an offence. I allow you to learn the word of the Buddhas each in his own dialect. Subsequent generations forgot this prohibition but it probably has a historical basis and it indicates the Buddha's desire to make his teaching popular. It is not likely that he contemplated the composition of a body of scriptures. He would have been afraid that it might resemble the hymns of the Brahmans which he valued so little and he wished all men to hear his teaching in the language they understood best. But when after his death his disciples collected his sayings it was natural that they should make at least one version of them in the dialect most widely spoken and that this version should be gradually elaborated in what was considered the best literary form of that dialect⁴. It is probable that the text underwent several linguistic revisions before it reached its present state.

Pali is a sonorous and harmonious language which avoids

¹ Magadha of course was not his birth place and the dialect of Kosala must have been his native language. But it is not hinted that he had any difficulty in making himself understood in Magadha and elsewhere.

² E.g. nominatives singular in *a*. For the possible existence of scriptures anterior to the Pali version and in another dialect, see E. Lévi, *J.A.* 1912, II, p. 495.

³ Cullavagga, v. 23, *chandasa* & *ropema*.

Although Pali became a sacred language in the South, yet in China, Tibet and Central Asia the scriptures were translated into the idioms of the various countries which accepted Buddhism.

like boards in a floor. When anything is predicated of several subjects for instance the five Skandhas. It is rare to find a single sentence containing a combined statement. As a rule what has to be said is predicated first of the first Skandha and then repeated *totidem verbis* of the others. But there is another cause for this tedious peculiarity, namely that for a long period the Pitakas were handed down by oral tradition only. They were first reduced to writing in Ceylon about 200 B.C. in the reign of Vattagâmani more than a century and a half after their first importation in an oral form. This circumstance need not throw doubt on the authenticity of the text for the whole ancient literature of India prose as well as verse was handed down by word of mouth and even in the present day most of it could be recovered if all manuscripts and books were lost. The Buddhists did not like the Brahmans make minute regulations for preserving and memorizing their sacred texts and in the early ages of the faith were impressed with the idea that their teaching was not a charm to be learnt by heart but something to be understood and practised. They nevertheless endeavoured and probably with success to learn by heart the words of the Buddha converting them into the dialect most widely understood. It was then a common thing (and the phenomenon may still be seen in India) for a man of learning to commit to memory a whole Veda together with subsidiary treatises on ritual metro grammar and genealogy. For such memories it was not difficult to retain the principal points in a series of sermons. The Buddha had preached day by day for about forty five years. Though he sometimes spoke with reference to special events he no doubt had a set of discourses which he regularly repeated. There was the less objection to such repetition because he was continually moving about and addressing new audiences. There were trained Brahman students among his disciples and at his death many persons probably hundreds must have had by heart summaries of his principal sermons.

But a sermon is less easy to remember than a poem or matter arranged by some method of *memoria technica*. An obvious aid to recollection is to divide the discourse into numbered heads and attach to each certain striking phrases. If the phrases can be made to recur so much the better for

knowledge, and meditation. It is for this that he has in his hands the sword of knowledge and a book. A beautiful figure from Java bearing these emblems is in the Berlin Museum.¹ Miniatures represent him as of a yellow colour with the hands (when they do not carry emblems) set in the position known as teaching the law.² Other signs which distinguish his images are the blue lotus and the lion on which he sits.

An interesting fact about Mañjuśrî is his association with China³, not only in Chinese but in late Indian legends. The mountain Wu-t'ai-shan in the province of Shan-si is sacred to him and is covered with temples erected in his honour.⁴ The name (mountain of five terraces) is rendered in Sanskrit as Pancaśîrsha, or Pancaśikha, and occurs both in the Svayambhû Purâna and in the text appended to miniatures representing Mañjuśrî. The principal temple is said to have been erected between 471 and 500 A.D. I have not seen any statement that the locality was sacred in pre-Buddhist times, but it was probably regarded as the haunt of deities, one of whom perhaps some spirit of divination was identified with the wise Mañjuśrî. It is possible that during the various inroads of Græco-Bactrians, Yueh-Chih, and other Central Asian tribes into India, Mañjuśrî was somehow imported into the pantheon of the Mahayana from China or Central Asia, and he has, especially in the earlier descriptions, a certain pure and abstract quality which recalls the Amesha-Spentas of Persia. But still his attributes are Indian, and there is little positive evidence of a foreign origin. I-Ching is the first to tell us that the Hindus believed he came from China.⁵ Hsuan Chuang does not mention this belief, and probably did not hear of it, for it is an interesting detail which no one writing for a Chinese audience would have omitted. We may therefore suppose that the idea arose in India about 650 A.D. By that date the temples of Wu-t'ai-Shan would

¹ It is reproduced in Grunwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*. Translated by Gibson, 1901, p. 200.

² Dharmacakramudra.

³ For the Nepalese legends see S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, 1905-9.

⁴ For an account of this sacred mountain see Edkins, *Religion in China*, chaps. xviii to xix.

⁵ See I tsing, trans. Takakusu, 1896, p. 136. For some further remarks on the possible foreign origin of Mañjuśrî see below, chapter on Central Asia. The verses attributed to King Harsha (Nanjio, 1071) praise the reliquaries of China but without details.

Suppiya the wandering ascetic and Brahmadatta the young Brahman

Then follows a similar account of the *Sāmaññaphala* sutta and we are told that *Ānanda* was questioned through the five *Nikāyas*. That is no doubt an exaggeration as applied to the time immediately after the Buddha's death but it is evidence that five *Nikāyas* were in existence when this chapter was written¹

3

Lines of growth are clearly discernible in the *Vinaya* and *Sutta Pitakas*. As already mentioned the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* is as a collection later than the others although separate books of it such as the *Sutta-nipāṭa* (especially the fourth and fifth books) are among the earliest documents which we possess. But other books such as the *Peta* * and *Vimāna-vatthu* show a distinct difference in tone and are probably separated from the Buddha by several centuries. Of the other four *Nikāyas* the *Samyutta* and *Anguttara* are the more modern and the *Anguttara* mentions *Munda* King of *Magadha* who began to reign about forty years after the Buddha's death. But even in the two older collections the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima* we have not reached the lowest stratum. The first thirteen suttantas of the *Dīgha* all contain a very ancient tractate on morality and the *Sāmaññaphala* and following sections of the *Dīgha* and also some suttas of the *Majjhima* contain either in whole or in part a treatise on progress in the holy life. These treatises were probably current as separate portions for recitation before the suttas in which they are now set were composed.

Similarly the *Vinaya* clearly presupposes an old code in the form of a list of offences called the *Pātimokkha*. The *Mahāvagga* contains a portion of an ancient word for word explanation of this code² and most of the *Sutta-vibhanga* is an amplification and exposition of it. The *Pātimokkha* was already in existence when these books were composed, for we hear³ that if in a

¹ It is remarkable that this account contemplates five *Nikāyas* (of which the fifth is believed to be late) but only two *Pitakas*, the *Abhidhamma* not being mentioned.

² It refers to a king *Pingalaka*, said to have reigned two hundred years after the Buddha's time.

Mahāv. xi. 3.

* *Mahāv.* ii. 17

does not prove that Asoka had before him in the form which we know the Dīgha and other works cited. But the most cautious logic must admit that there was a collection of the Buddha's sayings to which he could appeal and that if most of his references to this collection can be identified in our Pīṭakas then the major part of these Pīṭakas is probably identical in substance (not necessarily verbally) with the collection of sayings known to Asoka.

Neither Asoka nor the author of the Kathāvatthu cites books by name. The latter for instance quotes the well known lines *anupubbena medhavi*" not as coming from the Dhammapada but as 'spoken by the Lord.' But the author of the Questions of Milinda who knew the canonical books by the names they bear now also often adopts a similar method of citation. Although this author's probable date is not earlier than our era his evidence is important. He mentions all five Nikāyas by name the titles of many suttas and also the Vibhanga Dhātu kathā Puggala-Paṇṇatti Kathāvatthu Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

Everything indicates and nothing discredits the conclusion that this canon of the Vihhajarvādins was substantially fixed in the time of Asoka so far as the Vinaya and Sutta Pīṭakas are concerned. Some works of minor importance may have had an uncertain position and subsequent revisions may have been made but the principal scriptures were already recognized and contained passages which occur in our versions. On the other hand this recension of the scriptures was not the only one in existence. If the patronage of Asoka gave it a special prestige in his lifetime it may have lost it in India after his death and for many centuries the Buddhist Canon like the list of the Upanishads must have been susceptible of alteration. The Sarvāstrivādins compiled an Abhidhamma Pīṭaka of their own, apparently in the time of Kanishka and the Dharmagupta school also seems to have had its own version of this Pīṭaka.¹

4. The *Manigātha* = Sutta-Nipāta, 206-220.

5. The *Monayante* = *Monayya-sutta* in the *Itivuttakam*, 67; see also *Ang. Nīk.* iii. 120.

6. The *Upatisapadina*. The question of *Upatisa*; not identified.

7. The *Lāghulovāda* mustivādina *adhiyaya*. The addresses to Rāhula beginning with subject of lying = *Maj. Nīk.* 61.

¹ See *J.A.* 1916, n. pp. 20-23.

He is, however, frequently alluded to in the exegetical Pali literature, in the Anâgata-vamsa and in the earlier Sanskrit works such as the Lalita-vistara, the Divyâvadâna and Mahâ-vastu. In the Lotus he plays a prominent part, but still is subordinate to Mañjuśrî. Ultimately he was eclipsed by the two great Bodhisattvas but in the early centuries of our era he received much respect. His images are frequent in all parts of the Buddhist world. He was believed to watch over the propagation of the Faith¹, and to have made special revelations to Asaṅga². In paintings he is usually of a golden colour. His statues, which are often gigantic, show him standing or sitting in the European fashion and not cross-legged. He appears to be represented in the earliest Gandharan sculptures and there was a famous image of him in Udyâna of which Fa-Hsien (399-414 A.D.) speaks as if it were already ancient³. Hsuan Chuang describes it as well as a stupa erected⁴ to commemorate Śâkyamuni's prediction that Maitreya would be his successor. On attaining Buddhahood he will become lord of a terrestrial paradise and hold three assemblies under a dragon flower tree⁵, at which all who have been good Buddhists in previous births will become Arhats. I-Ching speaks of meditating on the advent of Maitreya in language like that which Christian piety uses of the second coming of Christ and concludes a poem which is incorporated in his work with the aspiration "Deep as the depth of a lake be my pure and calm meditation. Let me look for the first meeting under the Tree of the Dragon Flower when I hear the deep rippling voice of the Buddha Maitreya⁶." But messianic

¹ See e.g. Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, I, 239.

² See Watters and Péri in *B E F E O* 1911, 439. A temple of Maitreya has been found at Turfan in Central Asia with a Chinese inscription which speaks of him as an active and benevolent deity manifesting himself in many forms.

³ He has not fared well in Chinese iconography which represents him as an enormously fat smiling monk. In the Liang dynasty there was a monk called Pu-tai (Jap. Hotei) who was regarded as an incarnation of Maitreya and became a popular subject for caricature. It would appear that the Bodhisattva himself has become superseded by this cheerful but undignified incarnation.

⁴ The stupa was apparently at Benares but Hsuan Chuang's narrative is not clear and other versions make Rājagṛha or Śrāvastī the scene of the prediction.

⁵ Campa. This is his bodhi tree under which he will obtain enlightenment as Śâkyamuni under the *Ficus religiosa*. Each Buddha has his own special kind of bodhi tree.

⁶ *Record of the Buddhist religion*, Trans. Takakusu, p. 213. See too Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, II, 57, 144, 210, 215.

these things and they are precisely the things that they would get rightly by heart. I see no reason to doubt that such discourses as the sermon preached at Benares¹ and the recurring passages in the first book of the Dīgha Nikāya are a Pali version of what was accepted as the words of the Buddha soon after his death. And the change of dialect is not of great importance. Asoka's Bhābhū Edict contains the saying *Thus the good law shall long endure* which is believed to be a quotation and certainly corresponds pretty closely with a passage in the Anguttara Nikāya.² The King's version is *Saddhamma cīratthitike hasati*; the Pali is *Saddhammo cīratthitiko hoti*. Somewhat similar may have been the differences between the Buddha's speech and the text which we possess. The importance of the change in language is diminished and the facility of transmission is increased by the fact that in Pali, Sanskrit and kindred Indian languages ideas are concentrated in single words rather than spread over sentences. Thus the principal words of the sermon at Benares give its purport with perfect clearness if they are taken as a mere list without grammatical connection. Similarly I should imagine that the recurring paragraphs about progress in the holy life found in the early Suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya are an echo of the Buddha's own words for they bear an impress not only of antiquity but of eloquence and elevation. This does not mean that we have any sermon in the exact form in which Gotama uttered it. Such documents as the Sāmaññaphala-sutta and Ambaṭṭha-sutta probably give a good idea of his method and style in consecutive discourse and argument. But it would not be safe to regard them as more than the work of compilers who were acquainted with the surroundings in which he lived, the phrases he used and the names and business of those who conversed with him. With these they made a picture of a day in his life culminating in a sermon.³

Like the historical value of the Pīṭakas, their literary value can be justly estimated only if we remember that they are not books in our sense but treatises handed down by memory and

¹ In the first book of the Mahāvagga.

² Ang. Nīk. v. 201 and vi. 40.

³ It may be objected that some Suttas are put into the mouths of the Buddha's disciples and that their words are very like those of the Master. But as a rule they spoke on behalf of him and the object was to make their language as much like his as possible.

ideas were not much developed in either Buddhism or Hinduism and perhaps the figures of both Maitreya and Kalki owe something to Persian legends about Saoshyant the Saviour.

The other Bodhisattvas though landed in special treatises, have left little impression on Indian Buddhism and have obtained in the Far East most of whatever importance they possess. The makers of images and miniatures assign to each his proper shape and colour but when we read about them we feel that we are dealing not with the objects of real worship or even the products of a lively imagination but with names and figures which have a value for picturesque but conventional art.

Among the best known is Samantabhadra the all gracious¹ who is still a popular deity in Tibet and the patron saint of the sacred mountain Omei in China, with which he is associated as Mañjuśrī with Wn t'ai-shan. He is represented as green and riding on an elephant. In Indian Buddhism he has a moderately prominent position. He is mentioned in the Dharmasangraha and in one chapter of the Lotus he is charged with the special duty of protecting those who follow the law. But the Chinese pilgrims do not mention his worship.

Mañjārīmaprāpta² is a somewhat similar figure. A chapter of the Lotus (xix) is dedicated to him without however giving any clear idea of his personality and he is extolled in several descriptions of Sukhāvati or Paradise especially in the Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra. Together with Amitābha and Avalokita he forms a triad who rule this Happy Land and are often represented by three images in Chinese temples.

Vajrapāṇi is mentioned in many lists of Bodhisattvas (e.g. in the Dharmasangraha) but is of somewhat doubtful position as Hsüan Chuang calls him a deva³. Historically his recognition as a Bodhisattva is interesting for he is merely Indra transformed into a Buddhist. The mysterious personages called Vajradhara and Vajrasattva who in later times are even

¹ Chinwen P'u helen. See Johnston, *From Peking to Hsien-ching* for an interesting account of Mt. Omei.

² Or M hāsthina. Chinwen Tai-shih-shih. He appears to be the Arhat Mañjūgryāna deified. In China and Japan there is a marked tendency to regard all Bodhisattvas as ancient worthies who by their vows and virtues have risen to their present high position. But these euhemeristic explanations are common to the Far East and the real origin of the Bodhisattvas may be quite different.

³ H. J. Watters, I. p. 223, II. 215.

I have already raised the question of the relative value attaching to Pali and Sanskrit texts as authorities for early history. Two instances will perhaps illustrate this better than a general discussion. As already mentioned the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins makes the Buddha visit north western India and Kashmir whereas the Pali texts do not represent him as travelling further west than the country of the Kurus. The Sanskrit account is not known to be confirmed by more ancient evidence but there is nothing impossible in it particularly as there are periods in the Buddha's long life filled by no incidents. The narrative however contains a prediction about Kanishka and therefore cannot be earlier than his reign. Now there is no reason why the Pali texts should be silent about this journey if the Buddha really made it but one can easily imagine reasons for inventing it in the period of the Kushan kings. North western India was then full of monasteries and sacred sites and the same spirit which makes uncritical Buddhists in Ceylon and Siam assert to-day that the master visited their country impelled the monks of Peshawar and Kashmir to imagine a not improbable extension of his wanderings.¹

On the other hand this same Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins probably gives us a fragment of history when it tells us that the Buddha had three wives perhaps too when it relates how Rāhula's paternity was called in question and how Devadatta wanted to marry Yaśodharā after the Buddha had abandoned worldly life.² The Pali Vinaya and also some Sanskrit Vinayas³ mention only one wife or none at all. They do not attempt to describe Gotama's domestic life and if they make no allusion to it except to mention the mother of Rāhula this is not equivalent to an assertion that he had no other wife. But when one Vinaya composed in the north of India essays to give a biography of the Buddha and states that he had three wives there is no reason for doubting that the compiler was in touch with good local tradition.

¹ In the same spirit, the Chinese version of the Ekottara (sec. 4.) makes the dying Buddha order his bed to be made with his head to the north, because northern India will be the home of the Law. See *J.A.* Nov. Dec. 1918, p. 433.

² See for the whole question, *Nri, Les Femmes de Çākya Muni, B.E.F.E.O.* 1914, No. 2.

³ Those of the Dharmaguptas, Mahāśāṅghikas and Mahāśāsakas.

identified with the original Buddha spirit, are further developments of Vajrapāṇi. He owes his elevation to the fact that *Vajra*, originally meaning simply thunderbolt, came to be used as a mystical expression for the highest truth.

More important than these is Kṣhīṭigarbha, Tī-tsang or Jizō¹ who in China and Japan ranks second only to Kuan-yin. Visser has consecrated to him an interesting monograph² which shows what strange changes and chances may attend spirits and how ideal figures may alter as century after century they travel from land to land. We know little about the origin of Kṣhīṭigarbha. The name seems to mean Earth-womb and he has a shadowy counterpart in Akāśagarbha, a similar deity of the air, who it seems never had a hold on human hearts. The Earth is generally personified as a goddess³ and Kṣhīṭigarbha has some slight feminine traits, though on the whole decidedly masculine. The stories of his previous births relate how he was twice a woman. In Japan he was identified with the mountain goddess of Kamado, and he helps women in labour, a boon generally accorded by goddesses. In the pantheon of India he played an inconspicuous part⁴, though reckoned one of the eight great Bodhisattvas, but met with more general esteem in Turkestan, where he began to collect the attributes afterwards defined in the Far East. It is there that his history and transformations become clear.

He is primarily a deity of the nether world, but like Amitābha and Avalokita he made a vow to help all living creatures and specially to deliver them from hell. The Taoists pictured hell as divided into ten departments ruled over by as many kings, and Chinese fancy made Tī-tsang the superintendent of these functionaries. He thus becomes not so much a Saviour as the kindly superintendent of a prison who preaches to the inmates and willingly procures their release. Then we hear of six Tī-tsangs, corresponding to the six worlds of sentient beings, the gracious spirit being supposed to multiply his personality in

¹ Kṣhīṭigarbha is translated into Chinese as Tī tsang and Jizō is the Japanese pronunciation of the same two characters.

² In *Oriental Zephyr* 1913-15. See too Johnston, *Buddhist China*, chap. VIII.

³ The Earth goddess is known to the earliest Buddhist legends. The Buddha called her to witness when sitting under the Bo tree.

⁴ Three Sūtras, analysed by Visser, treat of Kṣhīṭigarbha. They are Nanjio, Nos. 64, 65, 67.

mechanical means (such as postures purification etc.) prescribed for the attainment of various mental states. In contrast to it is Rāja yoga which signifies ecstasy and the method of obtaining it by mental processes. The immediate object of the kṛyā yoga is to destroy the five evils¹ namely ignorance egoism desire aversion and love of life. It consists of asceticism, recitations and resignation to God explained as meaning that the devotee fasts repeats mantras and surrenders to God the fruit of all his works and feeling no more concern for them is at peace. Though the Yoga Sūtras are theistic theirism is necessary rather than essential to their teaching. They are not a theological treatise but the manual of an ancient discipline which recognizes devotional feelings as one means to its end. The method would remain almost intact if the part relating to the deity were omitted as in the Sāṅkhya. God is not for the Yoga Sūtras as he is for many Indian and European mystics the one reality the whence and whither of the soul and world.

Eight branches of practice² are enumerated namely —

1 Yama or restraint that is abstinence from killing lying stealing incontinence and from receiving gifts. It is almost equivalent to the five great precepts of Buddhism.

2 Niyama or observance defined as purification contentment mortification recitation and devotion to the Lord.

Purification is treated at great length in the later treatises on Haṭha yoga under the name of bhāṣa karma or sixfold work. It comprises not only ordinary ablutions but cleansing of the internal organs by such methods as taking in water by the nostrils and discharging it by the mouth. The object of these practices which though they assume queer forms rest on sound therapeutic principles, is to remove adventitious matter from the system and to reduce the gross elements of the body.³

3 Āsana or posture is defined as a continuous and pleasant attitude. It is difficult to see how the latter adjective

¹ Kṛmāḥ: killed in I. II.

² The practices systematized in the Yoga Sūtras are mentioned even in the older Upanishads such as the Maitrīyaṇa, Svetāśvatara and Chāndogya.

³ An extreme development of the idea that physical processes can produce spiritual results is found in Rāmacandra Daršana or the Mercurial system described in the Sarva-Daršana-Saṅgraha chap. ix. Marco Polo (1. 1. 1. Edition, vol. II, pp. 365, 366) had also heard of it.

order to minister to the wants of all. He is often represented as a monk staff in hand and with shaven head. The origin of this guise is not clear and it perhaps refers to his previous births. But in the eighth century a monk of Chiu Hua¹ was regarded as an incarnation of Ti tsang and after death his body was gilded and enshrined as an object of worship. In later times the Bodhisattva was confused with the incarnation in the same way as the portly figure of Pu tai commonly known as the laughing Buddha has been substituted for Maitreya in Chinese iconography.

In Japan the cult of the six Jizos became very popular. They were regarded as the deities of roads² and their effigies ultimately superseded the ancient phalho gods of the crossways. In this martial country the Bodhisattva assumed yet another character as Shōgun Jizō a militant priest riding on horseback³ and wearing a helmet who became the patron saint of warriors and was even identified with the Japanese war god Hachiman. Until the seventeenth century Jizo was worshipped principally by soldiers and priests but subsequently his cult spread among all classes and in all districts. His benovolent activities as a guide and saviour were more and more emphasized: he heals sickness, he lengthens life, he leads to heaven, he saves from hell, he even suffers as a substitute in hell and is the special protector of the souls of children amid the perils of the under world. Though this modern figure of Jizo is wrought with ancient materials it is in the main a work of Japanese sentiment.

¹ A celebrated monastery in the portion of An hui which lies to the south of the Yang tse. See Johnston, *Buddhist China* chaps. viii ix and x.

² There is some reason to think that even in Turkestan Kshitigarbha was a god of roads.

³ In A nam too Jizō is represented on horseback.

been executed. But the case is different if we are dealing with the conviction of an enthusiast that he rose aloft or even with the conviction of his disciples that they being in an ecstasy saw him do so. There is no reason to doubt the subjective reality of well authenticated visions and as motives and stimuli to action they may have real objective importance. Miracles of healing are not dissimilar. A man's mind can affect his body either directly through his conviction that certain physical changes are about to take place or indirectly as conveying the influence of some powerful external mind which may be either calming or stimulating. That some persons have a special power of healing nervous or mental diseases can hardly be doubted and I am not disposed to reject any well authenticated miraculous cure believing that sudden mental relief or acute joy can so affect the whole frame that in the improved physical conditions thus caused even diseases not usually considered as nervous may pass away. But though there is no reason to discredit miracles of healing it is clear that they are not only exaggerated but also distorted by reporters who do not understand their nature. Those who chronicle the cures supposed to be effected at Lourdes at the present day keep within the bounds of what is explicable but a Hindu who had seen a cripple recover some power of movement might be equally ready to believe that when a man's leg had been cut off the stump could grow into a complete limb.

The miraculous events recorded in the *Pitakas* differ from those of later works whether Mahayanist literature or the Hindu *Peranas* and *Epics* chiefly in their moderation. They may be classified under several heads. Many of them are mere embroidery or embellishment due to poetical exuberance esteemed appropriate in those generous climates though repugnant to our chilly tastes. In every country poetry is allowed to overstep the prosaic borders of fact without criticism. When an English poet says that—

The red rose cries *She is near she is near*
And the white rose weeps *She is late*
The larkspur listens *I hear I hear*
And the lily whispers *I wait—*

no one thinks of criticizing the lines as absurd because flowers

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BUDDHAS OF MAHAYANISM

THIS mythology did not grow up around the Buddha without affecting the central figure. To understand the extraordinary changes of meaning both mythological and metaphysical which the word Buddha undergoes in Mahayanist theology we must keep in mind not the personality of Gotama but the idea that he is one of several successive Buddhas who for convenience may be counted as four, seven or twenty-four but who really form an infinite series extending without limit backwards into the past and forwards into the future¹. This belief in a series of Buddhas produced a plentiful crop of imaginary personalities and also of speculations as to their connection with one another, with the phenomena of the world and with the human soul.

In the Pali Canon the Buddhas antecedent to Gotama are introduced much like ancient kings as part of the legendary history of this world. But in the *Lalitavistara* (Chap. xx) and the *Lotus* (Chap. vii) we hear of Buddhas, usually described as Tathâgatas, who apparently do not belong to this world at all, but rule various points of the compass, or regions described as Buddha-fields (Buddha-kshetra). Their names are not the same in the different accounts and we remain dazzled by an endless panorama of an infinity of universes with an infinity of shining Buddhas, illuminating infinite space.

Somewhat later five of these unearthly Buddhas were formed into a pentad and described as Jinas² or Dhyâni Buddhas (Buddhas of contemplation), namely, Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha and Amoghasiddhi. In the fully developed form of this doctrine these five personages are

¹ In *Mahâparinibb. Sutta* 1. 16 the Buddha is made to speak of all the other Buddhas who have been in the long ages of the past and will be in the long ages of the future.

² Though Dhyâni Buddha is the title most frequently used in European works it would appear that Jina is more usual in Sanskrit works, and in fact Dhyâni Buddha is hardly known outside Nepalese literature. Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi are rarely mentioned apart from the others. According to Getty (*Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 26, 27) a group of six, including the Âdi Buddha himself under the name of Vajrasattva, is sometimes worshipped.

describe a mind and will of more than human strength but the superman thus idealized rarely works miracles of healing. He saves mankind by teaching the way of salvation not by alleviating a few chance cases of physical distress. In later works he is represented as performing plentiful and extraordinary miracles but these are just the instances in which we can most clearly trace the addition of embellishments.

2

The elaboration of marvellous episodes is regarded in India as a legitimate form of literary art no more blameworthy than dramatization and in sacred writings it flourishes unchecked. In Hinduism as in Buddhism there is not wanting a feeling that the soul is weary of the crowd of deities who demand sacrifices and promise happiness and on the serene heights of philosophy gods have little place. Still most forms of Hinduism cannot like Buddhism be detached from the gods and no extravagance is too improbable to be included in the legends about them. The extravagance is the more startling because their exploits form part of quasi historical narratives. Rāma and Krishna seem to be idealized and deified portraits of ancient heroes who came to be regarded as incarnations of the Almighty. This is understood by Indians to mean not that the Almighty submitted consistently to human limitations but that he though incarnate exercised whenever it pleased him and often most capriciously his full divine force. With this idea before them and no historical scruples to restrain them Indian writers tell how Krishna held up a mountain on his finger. Indian readers accept the statement and crowds of pilgrims visit the scene of the exploit.

The later Buddhist writings are perhaps not less extravagant than the Pūrāṇas but the Pīṭakas are relatively sober though not quite consistent in their account of the Buddha's attitude to the miraculous. Thus he encourages Śāgata¹ to give a display of miracles such as walking in the air in order to prepare the mind of a congregation to whom he is going to preach but in other narratives² which seem ancient and authentic he expresses his disapproval of such performances (just as Christ

¹ Mahāv. v. l.

² E.g. Dig. Nik. xi. and Culavag. v. 8.

produced by contemplation from the Ādi Buddha or original Buddha spirit and themselves produce various reflexes including Bodhisattvas human Buddhas and goddesses like Tārā. The date when these beliefs first became part of the accepted Mahayana creed cannot be fixed but probably the symmetrical arrangement of five Buddhas is not anterior to the tantric period¹ of Buddhism.

The most important of the five are Vairocana and Amitābha. Akshobhya is mentioned in both the Lotus and Smaller Sūkhavati vyūha as the chief Buddha of the eastern quarter and a work purporting to be a description of his paradise still extant in Chinese² is said to have been translated in the time of the Eastern Han dynasty. But even in the Far East he did not find many worshippers. More enduring has been the glory of Vairocana who is the chief deity of the Shingon sect in Japan and is represented by the gigantic image in the temple at Nara. In Java he seems to have been regarded as the principal and supreme Buddha. The name occurs in the Mahāvastu as the designation of an otherwise unknown Buddha of luminous attributes and in the Lotus we hear of a distant Buddha world called Vairocana rasmi pratimandita embellished by the rays of the sun³. Vairocana is clearly a derivative of Virocana a recognized title of the sun in Sanskrit and is rendered in Chinese by Ta jih meaning great Sun. How this solar deity first came to be regarded as a Buddha is not known but the connection between a Buddha and light has always been recognized. Even the Pali texts represent Gotama as being luminous on some occasions and in the Mahayanist scriptures Buddhas are radiant and light giving beings surrounded by halos of prodigious extent and emitting flashes which illuminate the depths of space. The visions of innumerable paradises in all quarters containing jewelled stupas and lighted by refulgent Buddhas which are frequent in these works seem founded on astronomy vaporized under the influence of the idea that there are millions of universes all equally transitory and unsubstantial. There is no reason so

¹ About the same period Śiva and Viṣṇu were worshipped in five forms. See below Book v chap. III. sec. 3 *ad fin.*

Nanjio, Cat. No. 28.

² Virocana also occurs in the Chāndogya Up. VIII. 7 and 8 as the name of an Asura who misunderstood the teaching of Prajāpati. Virocana is the name of an Asura in Sam. Nik. I. xl. 1. 8.

accessories, are not taken seriously¹, and there are some extremely curious passages in which Gotama seems to laugh at them much as the sceptics of the eighteenth century laughed at Jehorah. Thus in the *Kevaddha sutta*² he relates how a monk who was puzzled by a metaphysical problem applied to various gods and finally accosted Brahmā himself in the presence of all his retinue. After hearing the question which was 'Where do the elements cease and leave no trace behind?' Brahmā replies 'I am the Great Brahmā the Supreme the Mighty the All-seeing the Ruler the Lord of all the Controller the Creator, the Chief of all appointing to each his place the Ancient of days the Father of all that are and are to be.'

But 'said the monk. I did not ask you friend whether you were indeed all you now say but I ask you where the four elements cease and leave no trace.' Then the Great Brahmā took him by the arm and led him aside and said 'These gods think I know and understand everything. Therefore I gave no answer in their presence. But I do not know the answer to your question and you had better go and ask the Buddha. Even more curiously ironical is the account given of the origin of Brahmā³. There comes a time when this world system passes away and then certain beings are reborn in the World of Radiance and remain there a long time. Sooner or later the world system begins to evolve again and the palace of Brahmā appears but it is empty. Then some being whose time is up falls from the World of Radiance and comes to life in the palace and remains there alone. At last he wishes for company and it so happens that other beings whose time is up fall from the World of Radiance and join him. And the first being thinks that he is Great Brahmā the Creator because when he felt lonely and wished for companions other beings appeared. And the other beings accept this view. And at last one of Brahmā's retinue falls from that state and is born in the human world and if he can remember his previous birth he reflects that he is transitory but that Brahmā still remains and from this he draws the erroneous conclusion that Brahmā is eternal.

¹ Even in the Upanishads the gods are not given a very high position. They are powerless against Brahman (e.g. *Kena Up.* 14 *8) and are not naturally in possession of true knowledge, though they may acquire it (e.g. *Chānd. Up.* viii. 7).

² *Dig. Nik.* xi.

³ *Dig. Nik.* i. chap. 2, 1-6. The radiant gods are the *Abhassara*, cf. *Dhammap.* *100.

far as I see, to regard Gotama as a mythical solar hero, but the celestial Buddhas¹ clearly have many solar attributes. This is natural. Solar deities are so abundant in Vedic mythology that it is hardly possible to be a benevolent god without having something of the character of the sun. The stream of foreign religions which flowed into India from Bactria and Persia about the time of the Christian era brought new aspects of sun worship such as Mithra, Helios and Apollo and strengthened the tendency to connect divinity and light. And this connection was peculiarly appropriate and obvious in the case of a Buddha, for Buddhas are clearly revealers and light-givers, conquerors of darkness and dispellers of ignorance.

Amitâbha (or the Buddha of measureless light), rising suddenly from an obscure origin, has like Avalokita and Vishnu become one of the great gods of Asia. He is also known as Amitâyus or measureless life, and is therefore a god of light and immortality. According to both the Lotus and the Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha he is the lord of the western quarter but he is unknown to the Lalita-vistara. It gives the ruler of the west a lengthy title², which suggests a land of gardens. Now Paradise, which has biblical authority as a name for the place of departed spirits, appears to mean in Persian a park or enclosed garden and the Avesta speaks of four heavens, the good thought Paradise, the good word Paradise, the good deed Paradise and the Endless Lights³. This last expression bears a remarkable resemblance to the name of Amitâbha and we can understand that he should rule the west, because it is the home to which the sun and departed spirits go. Amitâbha's Paradise is called Sukhâvatî or Happy Land. In the Puranas the city of Varuna (who is suspected of having a non-Indian origin) is said to be situated in the west and is called Sukha (Iṅga P. and Vayu P.) or Mukhya (so Vishnu P. and others). The name Amitâbha also occurs in the Vishnu Purana as the name of a class of gods and it is curious that they are in one place⁴ associated with other

¹ The names of many of these Buddhas, perhaps the majority, contain some word expressive of light such as Âditya, prabhâ or tejas.

² Chap. xx. Pushpavalivānarâjukusumitâbhijña.

³ E.g. Yashts. xxii and xxiv. *SBE* vol. xxxiii pp. 317 and 344. The title Pure Land (Chinese Ch'ing t'u, Japanese Jo do) has also a Persian ring about it. See further in the chapter on Central Asia.

⁴ Vishnu P., Book III. chap. II.

Puranas introduce us to a moderately harmonious if miscellaneous society of supernatural personages decently affiliated to one another and to Brahmanic teaching. The same personages reappear in Buddhism but are analogous to Christian angels or to fairies rather than to minor deities. They are not so much the heroes of legends as protectors: they are interesting not for their past exploits but for their readiness to help believers or to testify to the true doctrine. Still there was a great body of Buddhist and Jain legend in ancient India which handled the same stories as Brahmanic legend—e.g. the tale of Krishna—but in a slightly different manner. The characteristic form of Buddhist legend is the *Jātaka* or birth story. Folk lore and sagas, ancient jokes and tragedies, the whole stock in trade of rhapsodists and minstrels are made an edifying and interesting branch of scripture by simply identifying the principal characters with the Buddha, his friends and his enemies in their previous births.¹ But in Hinayanist Buddhism legend and mythology are ornamental and edifying, nothing more. Spirits may set a good example or send good luck, they have nothing to do with emancipation or nirvana. The same distinction of spheres is not wholly lost in Hinduism: for though the great philosophic works treat of God under various names, they mostly ignore minor deities, and though the language of the *Bhagavad-gītā* is exuberant and mythological, yet only Krishna is God, all other spirits are part of him.

The deities most frequently mentioned in Buddhist works are Indra, generally under the name of Sakka (*Sakra*) and Brahmā. The former is no longer the demon-slaying soma-drinking deity of the Vedas, but the heavenly counterpart of a pious Buddhist king. He frequently appears in the *Jātaka* stories as the protector of true religion and virtue, and when a good man is in trouble, his throne grows hot and attracts his attention. His transformation is analogous to the process by which heathen deities, especially in the Eastern Church, have been accepted as Christian saints.² Brahmā rules in a much higher heaven than Sakka. His appearances on earth are rarer and more weighty, and sometimes he seems to be a personifica-

¹ The legends of both Rāma and Krishna occur in the *Book of Jātakas* in a somewhat altered form, nos. 641 and 454.

² Thus Helios the Sun passes into St. Elias.

deities called the Mukhyas. The worship of Amitābha so far as its history can be traced goes back to Saraha the teacher of Nāgārjuna. He is said to have been a Sudra and his name seems an Indian. This supports the theory that this worship was foreign and imported into India¹.

This worship and the doctrine on which it is based are an almost complete contradiction of Gotama's teaching for they amount to this: that religion consists in faith in Amitābha and prayer to him in return for which he will receive his followers after death in his paradise. Yet this is not a late travesty of Buddhism but a relatively early development which must have begun about the Christian era. The principal works in which it is preached are the Greater Sukhāvati vyūha or Description of the Happy Land translated into Chinese between 147 and 186 A.D. the lesser work of the same name translated in 402 A.D. and the Sūtra of meditation on Amitāyus² translated in 424. The first of these works purports to be a discourse of Śākyamuni himself delivered on the Vulture's Peak in answer to the questions of Ānanda. He relates how innumerable ages ago there was a monk called Dharmākara who with the help of the Buddha of that period made a vow or vows³ to become a Buddha but on conditions. That is to say he rejected the Buddhahood to which he might become entitled unless his merits obtained certain advantages for others and having obtained Buddhahood on these conditions he can now cause them to be fulfilled. In other words he can apportion his vast store of accumulated merit to such persons and in such manner as he chooses. The gist of the conditions is that he should when he obtained Buddhahood be lord of a paradise whose inhabitants live in unbroken happiness until they obtain Nirvana. All who have thought of this paradise ten times are to be admitted therein unless they have committed grievous sin and Amitābha will appear to them at the moment of death so that their thoughts may not be troubled. The Buddha shows Ānanda a

¹ See below; Section on Central Asia, and Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, 31-38 and notes; Tarasatha (Shleifer), p. 93 and notes.

² Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra. All three works are translated in *S.B.E.* vol. XLIX.

³ Prāṇidhāna. Not only Amitābha but all Bodhisattvas (especially Avalokita and Kṛtiḡarbhā) are supposed to have made such vows. This idea is very common in China and Japan but goes back to Indian sources. See e.g. Lotus, XXIV verse 3.

miraculous vision of this paradise and its joys are described in language recalling the account of the New Jerusalem in the book of Revelation and, though coarser pleasures are excluded, all the delights of the eye and ear, such as jewels, gardens, flowers, rivers and the songs of birds await the faithful

The smaller *Sukhâvatî-vyûha*, represented as preached by *Sâkyamuni* at *Śrāvastī*, is occupied almost entirely with a description of the paradise. It marks a new departure in definitely preaching salvation by faith only, not by works, whereas the previous treatise, though dwelling on the efficacy of faith, also makes merit a requisite for life in heaven. But the shorter discourse says dogmatically "Beings are not born in that Buddha country as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life. No, all men or women who hear and bear in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights the name of *Amitâyus*, when they come to die, *Amitâyus* will stand before them in the hour of death, they will depart this life with quiet minds and after death they will be born in Paradise."

The *Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra* also purports to be the teaching of *Sâkyamuni* and has an historical introduction connecting it with Queen *Vaidehî* and King *Bimbisâra*. In theology it is more advanced than the other treatises: it is familiar with the doctrine of *Dharma-kâya* (which will be discussed below) and it represents the rulers of paradise as a triad, *Amitâyus* being assisted by *Avalokita* and *Mahasthâmaprâpta*¹. Admission to the paradise can be obtained in various ways, but the method recommended is the practice of a series of meditations which are described in detail. The system is comprehensive, for salvation can be obtained by mere virtue with little or no prayer but also by a single invocation of *Amitâyus*, which suffices to free from deadly sins.

Strange as such doctrines appear when set beside the Pali texts, it is clear that in their origin and even in the form which they assume in the larger *Sukhâvatî-vyûha* they are simply an exaggeration of ordinary Mahayanist teaching². *Amitâbha* is

¹ These *Bodhisattvas* are also mentioned but without much emphasis in the Greater *Sukhâvatî-vyûha*.

² Even in Hinayanist works such as the *Nidânakathâ* *Sumedha's* resolution to become a Buddha, formed as he lies on the ground before *Dipankara*, has a resemblance to *Amida's* vow. He resolves to attain the truth, to enable mankind to cross the sea of the world and only then to attain *Nirvana*.

merely a monk who devotes himself to the religious life namely seeking *bodhi* for the good of others. He differs from every day devotees only in the degree of sanctity and success obtained by his exertions. The operations which he performs are nothing but examples on a stupendous scale of *pariṇāmanā* or the assignment of one's own merits to others. His paradise though in popular esteem equivalent to the Persian or Christian heaven is not really so. strictly speaking it is not an ultimate ideal but a blessed region in which Nirvana may be obtained without toil or care.

Though this teaching had brilliant success in China and Japan where it still flourishes the worship of Amitābha was never predominant in India. In Nepal and Tibet he is one among many deities the Chinese pilgrims hardly mention him his figure is not particularly frequent in Indian iconography¹ and except in the works composed specially in his honour he appears as an incidental rather than as a necessary figure. The whole doctrine is hardly strenuous enough for Indians. To pray to the Buddha at the end of a sinful life enter his paradise and obtain ultimate Nirvana in comfort is not only open to the same charge of egoism as the Hinayana scheme of salvation but is much easier and may lead to the abandonment of religious effort. And the Hindu who above all things likes to busy himself with his own salvation, does not take kindly to these expedients. Numerous deities promise a long spell of heaven as a reward for the mere utterance of their names² yet the believer continues to labour earnestly in ceremonies or meditation. It would be interesting to know whether this doctrine of salvation by the utterance of a single name or prayer originated among Buddhists or Brahmins. In any case it is closely related to old ideas about the magic power of Vedic verses.

The five Jinas and other supernatural personages are often regarded as manifestations of a single Buddha force and at last this force is personified as Ādi Buddha³. This admittedly

¹ See Faucher *Iconographie Bouddhique dans l'Inde*.

² The Bhagavad-gītā states quite clearly the doctrine of the death-bed prayer (VIII. ad. init.). "He who leaves this body and departs remembering me in his last moments comes to my lot." Whatever form (of deity) he remembers when he finally leaves this body to that he goes having been used to ponder on it.

³ See art. Ādi-Buddha in *E.R.E. Asanga in the Sūtrāṅkāra* (IX. 77) condemns the doctrine of Ādi Buddha, showing that the term was known then, even if it

theistic form of Buddhism is late and is recorded from Nepal, Tibet (in the Kâlacakra system) and Java, a distribution which implies that it was exported from Bengal¹ But another form in which the Buddha-force is impersonal and analogous to the Parabrahma of the Vedânta is much older Yet when this philosophic idea is expressed in popular language it comes very near to Theism As Kern has pointed out, Buddha is not called Deva or Îsvara in the Lotus simply because he is above such beings He declares that he has existed and will exist for incalculable ages and has preached and will preach in innumerable millions of worlds His birth here and his nirvana are illusory, kindly devices which may help weak disciples but do not mark the real beginning and end of his activity This implies a view of Buddha's personality which is more precisely defined in the doctrine known as Trikâya or the three bodies² and expounded in the Mahâyâna-sûtrâlankâra, the Awakening of Faith, the Suvârna-prabhâsa sûtra³ and many other works It may be stated dogmatically as follows, but it assumes somewhat divergent forms according as it is treated theologically or metaphysically

A Buddha has three bodies or forms of existence The first is the Dharma-kâya, which is the essence of all Buddhas It is true knowledge or Bodhi It may also be described as Nirvana and also as the one permanent reality underlying all phenomena and all individuals The second is the Sambhoga-kâya, or body had not the precise dogmatic sense which it acquired later His argument is that no one can become a Buddha without an equipment (Sambhâra) of merit and knowledge Such an equipment can only be obtained from a previous Buddha and therefore the series of Buddhas must extend infinitely backwards

¹ For the prevalence of the doctrine in mediæval Bengal see B K Sarkar, *Folklore Element in Hindu Culture*, which is however sparing of precise references The Dharma or Nirañjana of the Śûnya Purâna seems to be equivalent to Âdi-Buddha

Sometimes the Âdi Buddha is identified with Vajrasattva or Samantabhadra, although these beings are otherwise classified as Bodhisattvas This appears analogous to the procedure common in Hinduism by which a devotee declares that his special deity is all the gods and the supreme spirit

² It would appear that some of the Tantras treat of five bodies, adding to the three here given others such as the Ânandakâya, Vajrakâya and Svabhâvakâya For this doctrine see especially De la Vallée Poussin, *J R A S* 1906, pp 943-997 and *Muséon*, 1913, pp 257 ff Jigs med nam mkâ, the historian of Tibetan Buddhism, describes four See Huth, *Ges d Bud in d Mongolei*, vol II pp 83-89 Hinduism also assigns to living beings three bodies, the Kârana śarîra, lingaś and sthûlaś

³ Translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha between 397 and 439 A D

of enjoyment that is to say the radiant and superhuman form in which Buddhas appear in their paradises or when otherwise manifesting themselves in celestial splendour. The third is the *Nirmāṇa kāya* or the body of transformation that is to say the human form worn by Śākyamuni or any other Buddha and regarded as a transformation of his true nature and almost a distortion because it is so partial and inadequate an expression of it. Later theology regards Amitābha, Amitāyus and Śākyamuni as a series corresponding to the three bodies. Amitābha does not really express the whole Dharma kāya which is incapable of personification but when he is accurately distinguished from Amitāyus (and frequently they are regarded as synonyms) he is made the more remote and ethereal of the two. Amitāyus with his rich ornaments and his flask containing the water of eternal life is the ideal of a splendidly beneficent saviour and represents the *Sambhoga kāya*¹. Śākyamuni is the same beneficent being shrunk into human form. But this is only one aspect and not the most important of the doctrine of the three bodies. We can easily understand the *Sambhoga kāya* and *Nirmāṇa kāya* they correspond to a deity such as Vishnu and his incarnation Krishna and they are puzzling in Buddhism simply because we think naturally of the older view (not entirely discarded by the Mahayana) which makes the human Buddha the crown and apex of a series of lives that find in him their fulfilment. But it is less easy to understand the Dharma kāya.

The word should perhaps be translated as body of the law and the thought originally underlying it may have been that the essential nature of a Buddha that which makes him a Buddha is the law which he preaches. As we might say the teacher lives in his teaching while it survives he is active and not dead.

The change from metaphor to theology is illustrated by Hsüan Chuang when he states² (no doubt quoting from his edition of the Pitakas) that Gotama when dying said to those around him: Say not that the Tathāgata is undergoing final

¹ The prototype of the *Sambhoga kāya* is found in the Pali Canon, for the Buddha says (*Mahāparinib. Sūt. iii. 22*) that when he appears among the different classes of gods his form and voice are similar to theirs.

² Watters, vol. II, p. 38. "Spiritual essence" is *Fa-shên* in Chinese (i.e. Dharma kāya). Another passage is quoted to the effect that henceforth the observances of all my disciples constitute the Tathāgata's *Fa-shên*, eternal and imperishable."

extinction his spiritual presence abides for ever unchangeable” This apparently corresponds to the passage in the Pali Canon¹, which runs “It may be that in some of you the thought may arise, the word of the Master is ended we have no more a teacher But it is not thus that you should regard it The truths and the rules which I have set forth, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you” But in Buddhist writings, including the oldest Pali texts, Dharma or Dhamma has another important meaning It signifies phenomenon or mental state (the two being identical for an idealistic philosophy) and comprises both the external and the internal world Now the Dharma-kāya is emphatically not a phenomenon but it may be regarded as the substratum or totality of phenomena or as that which gives phenomena whatever reality they possess and the double use of the word dharma rendered such divagations of meaning easier² Hindus have a tendency to identify being and knowledge According to the Vedānta philosophy he who knows Brahman, knows that he himself is Brahman and therefore he actually is Brahman In the same way the true body of the Buddha is prajñā or knowledge³ By this is meant a knowledge which transcends the distinction between subject and object and which sees that neither animate beings nor inanimate things have individuality or separate existence Thus the Dharma-kāya being an intelligence which sees the illusory quality of the world and also how the illusion originates⁴ may be regarded as the origin and ground of all phenomena As such it is also called Tathāgata-garbha and Dharma-dhātu, the matrix or storehouse of all phenomena On the other hand, inasmuch as it is beyond them and implies their unreality, it may also be regarded as the annihilation of all phenomena, in other words as Nirvana In fact the Dharma-kāya (or Bhūta-tathatā) is sometimes⁵ defined in words similar to those which the Pali Canon makes the Buddha use when asked if the Perfect Saint exists after death “it is neither that which is existence nor that which is non-

¹ Mahāparinib Sūta vi 1.

² Something similar might happen in English if think and thing were pronounced in the same way and a thing were believed to be that which we can think

³ See *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñā pāramitā*, chap. iv, near beginning

⁴ It is in this last point that no inferior intelligence can follow the thought of a Buddha

⁵ *The Awakening of Faith*, Teitaro Suzuki, p. 59

existence nor that which is at once existence and non-existence nor that which is neither existence nor non-existence. In more theological language it may be said that according to the general opinion of the Mahayanists a Buddha attains to Nirvana by the very act of becoming a Buddha and is therefore beyond everything which we call existence. Yet the compassion which he feels for mankind and the good Karma which he has accumulated cause a human image of him (*Nirmāṇa rūpa*) to appear among men for their instruction and a superhuman image perceptible yet not material to appear in Paradise.

CHAPTER XIX

MAHAYANIST METAPHYSICS

THUS the theory of the three bodies, especially of the Dharma-kâya, is bound up with a theory of ontology. Metaphysics became a passion among the travellers of the Great Vehicle as psychology had been in earlier times. They may indeed be reproached with being bad Buddhists since they insisted on speculating on those questions which Gotama had declared to be unprofitable and incapable of an answer in human language. He refused to pronounce on the whence, the whither and the nature of things, but bade his disciples walk in the eightfold path and analyse the human mind, because such analysis conduces to spiritual progress. India was the last country in the world where such restrictions were likely to be observed. Much Mahayanist literature is not religious at all but simply metaphysics treated in an authoritative and ecclesiastical manner. The nature and origin of the world are discussed as freely as in the Vedânta and with similar results: the old ethics and psychology receive scant attention. Yet the difference is less than might be supposed. Anyone who reads these treatises and notices the number of apparently eternal beings and the talk about the universal mind is likely to think the old doctrine that nothing has an âtman or soul, has been forgotten. But this impression is not correct, the doctrine of *Narâtmayam* is asserted so uncompromisingly that from one point of view it may be said that even Buddhas do not exist. The meaning of this doctrine is that no being or object contains an unchangeable permanent self, which lives unaltered in the same or in different bodies. On the contrary individual existences consist of nothing but a collection of skandhas or a *santâna*, a succession or series of mental phenomena. In the Pali books this doctrine is applied chiefly to the soul and psychological enquiries. The Mahayana applied it to the external world and proved by ingenious arguments that nothing at all exists. Similarly the doctrine of Karma is maintained, though it is seriously modified by the

admission that merit can be transferred from one personality to another. The Mahayana continued to teach that an act once performed affects a particular series of mental states until its effect is exhausted or in popular language that an individual enjoys or suffers through a series of births the consequences of previous acts. Even the instance of Amitābha's paradise though it strains the doctrine of Karma to the utmost does not repudiate it. For the believer performs an act—to wit the invocation of Amitābha—to which has been attached the wonderful result that the performer is reborn in a blessed state. This is not essentially different from the idea found in the Pali Canon that attentions paid to a Buddha may be rewarded by a happy rebirth in heaven.¹

Mahayanist metaphysics like all other departments of this theology are beset by the difficulty that the authorities who treat of them are not always in accord and do not pretend to be in accord. The idea that variety is permissible in belief and conduct is deeply rooted in later Buddhism. There are many vehicles some better than others no doubt and some very ramshackle but all are capable of conveying their passengers to salvation. Nominally the Mahayana was divided into only two schools of philosophy practically every important treatise propounds a system with features of its own. The two schools are the Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas.² Both are idealists and deny the reality of the external world but whereas the Yogācāras (also called Viśiṣṭavādins) admit that Viśiṣṭa or consciousness and the series of states of which it consists are real the Mādhyamikas refuse the title of reality to both the subjective and the objective world and hence gained a reputation of being complete nihilists. Probably the Mādhyamikas are the older school.

Both schools attach importance to the distinction between relative and absolute knowledge. Relative knowledge is true for human beings living in the world that is to say it is not more false than the world of appearance in which they live. The Hinayanist doctrines are true in this sense. Absolute knowledge

¹ E.g. in Mahāparinib. Sū. iv 57 the Buddha says: "There has been laid up by Canda the smith (who had given him his last meal) a karma redounding to length of life to good fortune to good fame to the inheritance of Acarya and of sovereign power."

Strictly speaking Marthymaka is the name of the school Mādhyamika of its adherents. Both forms are used e.g. Madhyam & Vārikas and Mādhy mik sūtra.

rises above the world of appearance and is altogether true but difficult to express in words. The Yogâcâra makes three divisions, dividing the inferior knowledge into two. It distinguishes first illusory knowledge (*parikalpita*) such as mistaking a piece of rope for a snake or belief in the existence of individual souls. Secondly knowledge which depends on the relations of things (*paratantra*) and which though not absolutely wrong is necessarily limited, such as belief in the real existence of ropes and snakes. And thirdly absolute knowledge (*pariniṣpanna*), which understands all things as the manifestation of an underlying principle. The Mādhyamikas more simply divide knowledge into *samvṛti-satya* and *paramārtha-satya*, that is the truth of everyday life and transcendental truth. The world and ordinary religion with its doctrines and injunctions about good works are real and true as *samvṛti* but in absolute truth (*paramārtham*) we attain Nirvana and then the world with its human Buddhas and its gods exists no more. The word *śūnyam* or *śūnyatā*, that is *void*, is often used as the equivalent of *paramārtham*. Void must be understood as meaning not an abyss of nothingness but that which is found to be devoid of all the attributes which we try to ascribe to it. The world of ordinary experience is not void, for a great number of statements can be made about it, but absolute truth is void, because nothing whatever can be predicated of it. Yet even this colourless designation is not perfectly accurate¹, because neither being nor not-being can be predicated of absolute truth. It is for this reason, namely that they admit neither being nor not-being but something between the two, that the followers of Nāgārjuna are known as the Mādhyamikas or school of the middle doctrine, though the European reader is tempted to say that their theories are extreme to the point of being a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole system. Yet though much of their logic seems late and useless sophistry, its affinity to early Buddhism cannot be denied. The fourfold proposition that the answer to certain questions cannot be any of the statements "is," "is not," "both is and is not," "neither is nor is not," is part of the earliest known stratum of Buddhism. The Buddha himself is represented as

¹ Nāgārjuna says *Śūnyam iti na vaktavyam aśūnyam iti va bhavet Ubhayam nobhayam ceti prajñāptiyartham tu kathyate*, "It cannot be called void or not void or both or neither but in order to somehow indicate it, it is called *Śūnyatā*."

saying¹ that most people hold either to a belief in being or to a belief in not being. But neither belief is possible for one who considers the question with full knowledge. That things have being is one extreme; that things have no being is the other extreme. These extremes have been avoided by the Tathāgata and it is a middle doctrine that he teaches "namely dependent origination as explained in the chain of twelve links. The Mādhyamika theory that objects have no absolute and independent existence but appear to exist in virtue of their relations is a restatement of this ancient dictum.

The Mahayanist doctors find an ethical meaning in their negations. If things possessed *svabhāva* real absolute self-determined existence then the four truths and especially the cessation of suffering and attainment of sanctity would be impossible. For if things were due not to causation but to their own self-determining nature (and the Hindus always seem to understand real existence in this sense) cessation of evil and attainment of the good would be alike impossible. The four Noble Truths imply a world which is in a state of constant becoming; that is a world which is not really existent.

But for all that the doctrine of *śūnyatā* as stated in the Mādhyamika aphorisms ascribed to Nāgārjuna leaves an impression of audacious and ingenious sophistry. After laying down that every object in the world exists only in relation to every other object and has no self-existence the treatise proceeds to prove that rest and motion are alike impossible. We speak about the path along which we are passing but there is really no such thing for if we divide the path accurately it always proves separable into the part which has been passed over and the part which will be passed over. There is no part which is being passed over. This of course amounts to a denial of the existence of present time. Time consists of past and future separated by an indivisible and immeasurable instant. The minimum of time which has any meaning for us implies a change and two elements a former and a subsequent. The present minute or the present hour are fallacious expressions².

Sam. Nid. xxii. 90. 16.

Gotama, the founder of the Nyāya philosophy also admitted the force of the arguments against the existence of present time but regarded them as a *reductio ad absurdum*. Shadworth Hodgson in his *Philosophy of Reflection*, vol. I. p. 253 also treats of the question.

Therefore no one ever *is passing* along a path. Again you cannot logically say that the passer is passing, for the sentence is redundant the verb adds nothing to the noun and *vice versa* but on the other hand you clearly cannot say that the non-passer is passing. Again if you say that the passer and the passing are identical, you overlook the distinction between the agent and the act and both become unreal. But you cannot maintain that the passer is different from the passing, for a passer as distinct from passing and passing as distinct from a passer have no meaning. "But how can two entities exist at all, if they exist neither as identical with one another nor as different from one another?"

The above, though much abridged, gives an idea of the logic of these sūtras. They proceed to show that all manner of things, such as the five skandhas, the elements, contact, attachment, fire and fuel, origination, continuation and extinction have no real existence. Similar reasoning is then applied to religious topics the world of transmigration as well as bondage and liberation are declared non-existent. In reality no soul is in bondage and none is released¹. Similarly Karma, the Buddha himself, the four truths, Nirvana and the twelve links in the chain of causation are all unreal. This is not a declaration of scepticism. It means that the Buddha as a human or celestial being and Nirvana as a state attainable in this world are conceivable only in connection with this world and therefore, like the world, unreal. No religious idea can enter into the unreal (that is the practical) life of the world unless it is itself unreal. This sounds a topsy turvy argument but it is really the same as the Advaita doctrine. The Vedānta is on the one hand a scheme of salvation for liberating souls which transmigrate unceasingly in a world ruled by a personal God. But when true knowledge is attained, the soul sees that it is identical with the Highest Brahman and that souls which are in bondage and God who rules the world are illusions like the world itself. But the Advaita has at least a verbal superiority over the Mādhyamika philosophy, for in its terminology Brahman is the real and the existent contrasted with the world of illusion. The result of giving to what the Advaita calls the real and existent the name of *sūnyatā* or

¹ The Sāṅkhya philosophy makes a similar statement, though for different reasons.

void is disconcerting. To say that everything without distinction is non-existent is much the same as saying that everything is existent. It only means that a wrong sense is habitually given to the word exist as if it meant to be self-contained and without relation to other objects. Unless we can make a verbal contrast and assert that there is something which does exist it seems futile to insist on the unreality of the world. Yet this mode of thought is not confined to text-books on logic. It invades the scriptures and appears (for instance) in the Diamond Cutter¹ which is still one of the most venerated books of devotion in China and Japan. In this work the Buddha explains that a Bodhisattva must resolve to deliver all living beings and yet must understand that after he has thus delivered innumerable beings no one has been delivered. And why? Because no one is to be called a Bodhisattva for whom there exists the idea of a being or person. Similarly a saint does not think that he is a saint for if he did so think he would believe in a self and a person. There occur continually in this work phrases cast in the following form: what was preached as a store of merit that was preached as no store of merit² by the Tathāgata and therefore it is called a store of merit. If there existed a store of merit the Tathāgata would not have preached a store of merit. That is to say if I understand this dark language rightly accumulated merit is part of the world of illusion which we live in and by speaking of it as he did the Buddha implied that it, like every thing else in the world is really non-existent. Did it belong to the sphere of absolute truth he would not have spoken of it as if it were one of the things commonly but erroneously supposed to exist. Finally we are told of the highest knowledge. Even the smallest thing is not known or perceived there therefore it is called the highest perfect knowledge. That is to say perfect knowledge transcends all distinctions it recognises the illusory nature of all individuality and the truth of sameness the never changing one behind the ever-changing many. In this sense it is said to perceive nothing and know nothing.

One might expect that a philosophy thus prone to use the

¹ *Vajracchedikā*. See *S.B.E.* vol. XLIX. It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (384-417 A.D.).

² Or in other repetitions of the same formula, beings, *śā* good things, signs, etc. etc.

language of extreme nihilism would slip into a destructive, or at least negative system. But Mahayanism was pulled equally strongly in the opposite direction by the popular and mythological elements which it contained and was on the whole inclined to theism and even polytheism quite as much as to atheism and acosmism. A modern Japanese writer¹ says that Dharma-kâya "may be considered to be equivalent to the Christian conception of the Godhead." This is excessive as a historical statement of the view current in India during the early centuries of our era, but it does seem true that Dharma-kâya was made the equivalent of the Hindu conception of Param Brahma and also that it is very nearly equivalent to the Chinese Tao².

The work called *Awakening of Faith*³ and ascribed to Āśvaghoṣa is not extant in Sanskrit but was translated into Chinese in 553 A.D. Its doctrine is practically that of the Yogācāra school and this makes the ascription doubtful, but it is a most important treatise. It is regarded as authoritative in China and Japan at the present day and it illustrates the triple tendency of the Mahayana towards metaphysics, mythology, and devotional piety. It declares that faith has four aspects. Three of these are the three Jewels, or Buddha, the Law and the Church, and cover between them the whole field of religion and morality as generally understood. The exposition is tinged with a fine unselfish emotion and tells the believer that though he should strive not for his own emancipation but for the salvation of others yet he himself receives unselfish and supernatural assistance. He is remembered and guarded by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in all quarters of the Universe who are eternally trying to liberate mankind by various expedients (upāya). By expedient is meant a modified presentment of the truth, which is easier of comprehension and, if not the goal, at least on the road to it, such as the Paradise of Amitābha⁴.

¹ Soyen Shaku, *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*, p. 47.

² See for a simple and persuasive statement of these abstruse doctrines a charming little book called *Wu Wei* by H. Borel.

³ Translated from the Chinese by Teitaro Suzuki, 1900. The translation must be used with care, as its frequent use of the word *soul* may lead to misunderstanding.

⁴ Asaṅga's work *Mahāyāna sūtrāṅkāra* (edited and translated by S. Lévi) which covers much of the same ground is extant in Sanskrit as well as in Chinese and Tibetan translations. It is a lucid and authoritative treatise but does not appear to have ever been popular, or to be read now in the Far East. For Yogācāra see also *Muséon*, 1904, p. 370.

Bnt the remaining aspect of faith which is the one that the author puts first in his enumeration and treats at great length is to believe in the fundamental truth that is to think joyfully of suchness. By suchness (in Sanskrit *bhūta-tathatā* in Chinese *Chên ju*) is meant absolute truth as contrasted with the relative truth of ordinary experience¹. The word is not illuminating nor likely to excite religious emotion and the most that can be said for it is that it is less dreary than the void of Nāgārjuna. Another and more positive synonym is *dharma-dhātu* the all embracing totality of things. It is only through our ignorance and subjectivity that things appear distinct and individuate. Could we transcend this subjectivity isolated objects would cease to exist. Things in their fundamental nature cannot be named or explained they are beyond the range of language and perception they have no signs of distinction but possess absolute sameness (*samata*). From this totality of things nothing can be excluded and to it nothing can be added. Yet it is also *śūnyatā* negation or the void because it cannot be said to possess any of the attributes of the world we live in neither existence nor non-existence nor unity nor plurality can be predicted of it. According to the celebrated formula of Nāgārjuna known as the eight Nos there is in it neither production (*utpāda*) nor destruction (*uccheda*) nor annihilation (*nirodha*) nor persistence (*śaśvata*) nor unity (*ekārtha*) nor plurality (*nānārtha*) nor coming in (*āgamana*) nor going out (*nirgama*). But when we perceive that both subject and object are unreal we also see that suchness is the one reality and from that point of view it may be regarded as the Dharma kāya of all Buddhas. It is also called Tathāgata garbha the womb or store-house of the Buddha from which all individual existences are evolved under the law of causation but this aspect of it is already affected by ignorance for in *Bhūta tathatā* as known in the light of the highest truth there is neither causation nor production. The Yogācāra employs the word *śūnyatā* (void) though not so much as its sister school but it makes special use of the term *ālaya vijñāna* the receptacle or store of consciousness. This in so far as it is superindividual is an aspect of suchness but when it affirms and particularises itself it becomes *citta* that is the human mind, or to be more

¹ The discussion of *tathatā* in Kathāvatthu, xix, 5 seems to record an early phase of these speculations.

accurate the substratum of the human mind from which is developed *manas*, or the principle of will, self-consciousness and self-affirmation. Similarly the Vedânta philosophy, though it has no term corresponding to *ālaya-vijñāna*, is familiar with the idea that Brahman is in one aspect immeasurable and all-embracing but in another is infinitesimal and dwells in the human heart or that Brahman after creating the world entered into it. Again another aspect of suchness is enlightenment (*bodhi*), that is absolute knowledge free from the limitations of subject and object. This "is the universal Dharma-kāya of the Tathāgatas" and on account of this all Tathāgatas are spoken of as abiding in enlightenment *a priori*. This enlightenment may be negative (as *śūnyāta*) in the sense that it transcends all relations but it may also be affirmative and then "it transforms and unfolds itself, whenever conditions are favourable, in the form of a Tathāgata or some other form in order that all beings may be induced to bring their store of merit to maturity¹."

It will be seen from the above that the absolute truth of the Mahayanists varies from a severely metaphysical conception, the indescribable thing in itself, to something very like an all-pervading benevolent essence which from time to time takes shape in a Buddha. And here we see how easy is the transition from the old Buddhism to a form of pantheism. For if we admit that the Buddha is a superhuman intelligence appearing from time to time according to a certain law, we add little to this statement by saying that the essence or spirit of the cosmos manifests itself from time to time as a Buddha. Only, such words as essence or spirit are not really correct. The world of individuals is the same as the highest truth, the same as the Dharma-kāya, the same as Nirvana. It is only through ignorance that it appears to be different and particularized. Ignorance, the essence of which consists in believing in the distinction between subject and object, is also called defilement and the highest truth passes through various stages of defilement ending with that where under the influence of egoism and passion the external world of particulars is believed to be everything. But the various stages may influence one another² so that under a higher influence the mind which is involved in subjectivity

¹ *Awakening of Faith*, Teitaro Suzuki, pp. 62 and 70

² The process is generally called *Vāsana* or perfuming

begins to long for Nirvana. Yet Nirvana is not something different from or beyond the world of experience: it does not really involve annihilation of the skandhas. Just as in the Advaita he who has the true knowledge sees that he himself and everything else is Brahman, so for the Mahayanist all things are seen *to be* Nirvana *to be* the Dharma kâya. It is sometimes¹ said that there are four kinds of Nirvana: (a) absolute Nirvana which is a synonym of the Dharma kâya and in that sense universally present in all beings; (b) upadhiśeṣa nirvâṇa, the state of enlightenment which can be attained during life while the body with its limitations still remains; (c) anupadhiśeṣa nirvâṇa, a higher degree of the same state attained after death when the hindrances of the body are removed; (d) Nirvana without abode or apratiśṭhita nirvâṇa. Those who attain to this understand that there is no real antithesis between Samsâra and Nirvana²: they do not seek for rest or emancipation but devote themselves to beneficent activity and to leading their fellows to salvation. Although these statements that Nirvana and Samsâra are the same are not at all in the manner of the older Buddhism, yet this ideal of disinterested activity combined with Nirvana is not inconsistent with the portrait of Gotama preserved in the Pali Canon.

The Mahayanist Buddhism of the Far East makes free use of such phrases as the Buddha in the heart, the Buddha mind and the Buddha nature. These seem to represent such Sanskrit terms as Buddhâtva and Bodhicitta which can receive either an ethical or a metaphysical emphasis. The former line of thought is well shown in Śântideva³ who treats Bodhicitta as the initial impulse and motive power of the religious life combining intellectual illumination and unselfish devotion to the good of others. Thus regarded it is a guiding and stimulating principle somewhat analogous to the Holy Spirit in Christianity. But the Bodhicitta is also the essential quality of a Buddha (and the Holy Spirit too is a member of the Trinity) and in so far as a man has the Bodhicitta he is one with all Buddhas.

¹ *Vijñāna-mitra Śāstra*. Chinese version quoted by Tetsuro Sumiki *Outline of Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 343. Apparently both upādhi and upadhi are used in Buddhist Sanskrit. Upādhi is the Pali form.

² So the *Mādhyamika Śāstra* (XXV. 19) states that there is no difference between Samsâra and Nirvâṇa. Cf. Rabindranath Tagore, *Saṅgha*, pp. 160-164.

³ *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, chap. I, called praise of the Bodhicitta.

This conception is perhaps secondary in Buddhism but it is also as old as the Upanishads and only another form of the doctrine that the spirit in every man (*antaryâmin*) is identical with the Supreme Spirit. It is developed in many works still popular in the Far East¹ and was the fundamental thesis of Bodhidharma, the founder of the Zen school. But the practical character of the Chinese and Japanese has led them to attach more importance to the moral and intellectual side of this doctrine than to the metaphysical and pantheistic side.

¹ *E.g.* the *P'u t'i hsin li hsiang lun* (Nanjio, 1304), translated from Nâgârjuna, and the *Ta Ch'êng-fa chueh wu ch'a pieh lun*, translated from Sthiramati (Nanjio, 1258).

CHAPTER XX

MAHAYANIST SCRIPTURES

In a previous chapter I have discussed the Pali Canon and I shall subsequently have something to say about the Chinese and Tibetan Canons which are libraries of religious and edifying works rather than sacred books similar to the Vedas or the Bible. My present object is to speak of the Sanskrit literature chiefly sutras which appeared contemporaneously with the rise of Mahayanism in India.

The Mahayanist scriptures are the largest body of sacred writings extant in the world but it is not easy either to define the limits of the Canon or to say when it was put together. According to a common tradition Kanishka played for the Church of the Great Vehicle much the same part as Asoka for the Theravādins and summoned a Council which wrote commentaries on the Tripitaka. This may be reasonably held to include a recension of the text commented on but we do not know what that text was and the brief and perplexing accounts of the Council which we possess indicate not that it gave its imprimatur to Mahayanist sutras but that it was specially concerned with the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādin school.

In any case no Canon formed in the time of Kanishka can have been equivalent to the collections of writings accepted to day in China and Tibet for they contain works later than any date which can be assigned to his reign as do also the nine sacred books revered in Nepal. It was agreed among Indian Buddhists that the scriptures were divided among the three Pitakas or baskets but we may surmise that there was no unanimity as to the precise contents of each basket. In India the need for unanimity in such matters is not felt. The Brahmins always recognized that the most holy and most jealously preserved scriptures could exist in various recensions and the Mahabharata shows how generations of respectful and uncritical hearers may allow adventitious matter of all sorts to

be incorporated in a work. Something of the same kind happened with the Pīṭakas. We know that the Pālī recension which we possess was not the only one, for fragments of a Sanskrit version have been discovered.

There was probably a large floating literature of sūtras, often presenting several recensions of the same document worked up in different ways. Just as additions were made to the list of Upanishads up to the middle ages, although the character of the later works was different from that of the earlier, so new sūtras, modern in date and in tone, were received in the capacious basket. And just as the Purāṇas were accepted as sacred books without undermining the authority of the Vedas, so new Buddhist scriptures superseded without condemning the old ones. Various Mahayanist schools had their own versions of the Vinaya which apparently contain the same rules as the Pālī text but also much additional narrative, and Asaṅga quotes from works corresponding to the Pālī Nīkāyas, though his doctrine belongs to another age¹. The Abhidharma section of the Pālī Canon seems however to have been peculiar to the Theravāda school. The Sarvāstivādin Pīṭaka of the same name was entirely different and, judging from the Chinese Canon, the Mahayanists gave the title to philosophic works by such authors as Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, some of which were described as revelations from Maitreya.

Specially characteristic of Mahayanist Buddhism are the Vaipulya² sūtras, that is sūtras of great extension or development. These works, of which the Lotus is an example, follow the same scheme as the older sūtras but are of wider scope and on a much larger scale, for they often consist of twenty or more chapters. They usually attempt to give a general exposition of the whole Dharma, or at least of some aspect of it which is

¹ In the Mahāyāna sūtrāṅkāra he quotes frequently from the Samyukta and Ekottara Āgamas, corresponding to the Samyutta and Anguttara Nīkāyas of the Pālī.

² A reading Vaitulya has also been found in some manuscripts of the Lotus discovered at Kashgar and it is suggested that the word may refer to the sect of Vetullas or Vetulyakas mentioned in the Commentary on the Kathāvatthu as holding that the Buddha really remained in the Tushita heaven and sent a phantom to represent him in the world and that it was Ānanda, not the Buddha, who preached the law. See Kern, *Vers en Med der K Ak v Wetenschappen, Letterk*, R 4 D VIII pp 312-9, Amsterdam, 1907, and De la Vallée Poussin's notice of this article in *J R A S* 1907, pp 434-6. But this interpretation does not seem very probable.

extolled as sufficient for the right conduct of life. The chief speaker is usually the Buddha who is introduced as teaching on the Vulture Peak or some other well known locality and surrounded by a great assemblage many of whom are super human beings. The occasion of the discourse is commonly signalized by his sending forth rays of light which illuminate the universe until the scene includes other worlds. As early as the *Anguttara Nikāya*¹ we find references to the danger of a taste for ornate and poetic sutras and these compositions seem to be the outcome of that taste. The literary ideas and methods which produced them are illustrated by the *Sutrāṅkāra* of Aśva-ghoṣa a collection of edifying tales many of which use the materials supplied by the Pali *Nikāyas* and *Vinaya* but present them in a more effective and artistic form. It was thought a pious task to amplify and embellish the simple narratives handed down by tradition.

The Mahayanist scriptures are composed in Sanskrit not in Pali but it is only rarely—for instance in the works of Aśva-ghoṣa—that Buddhist Sanskrit conforms to the rules of the classical language. Usually the words deviate from this standard both in form and meaning and often suggest that the text as we have it is a Sanskritized version of an older work in some popular dialect brought into partial conformity with literary usage. In the poetical portions this process of Sanskritization encountered greater difficulties than in prose because metre and prosody often refused to admit the changes required by grammar so that this poetical dialect cannot be called either Sanskrit, Pali or Magadhi but remains a mixture of learned and popular speech. But Sanskrit did not become a sacred language for the Mahayanists like Latin for Roman Catholics. It is rather Pali which has assumed this position among the Mahayanists for Burmese and Sinhalese translations of the *Pitakas* acquired no authority. But in the north the principle² that every man might read the Buddha's word in his own vernacular was usually respected and the populations of Central Asia, the Chinese, the Tibetans and the Mongols translated the scriptures into their

¹ iv 160, 5.

² See *Caṭṭavagga*, v 33. The meaning evidently is that the Buddha's words are not to be enshrined in an artificial literary form which will prevent them from being popular.

own languages without attaching any superstitious importance to the original words, unless they were Dhâranîs or spells

About the time of the Christian era or perhaps rather earlier, greater use began to be made of writing for religious purposes. The old practice of reciting the scriptures was not discontinued but no objection was made to preserving and reading them in written copies. According to tradition, the Pali scriptures were committed to writing in Ceylon during the reign of Vattagâmani, that is according to the most recent chronology about 20 B C, and Kanishka caused to be engraved on copper plates the commentaries composed by the council which he summoned. In Aśvaghosha¹ we find the story of a Brahman who casually taking up a book to pass the time lights on a copy of the Sutra of the Twelve Causes and is converted. But though the Buddhists remained on the whole true to the old view that the important thing was to understand and disseminate the substance of the Master's teaching and not merely to preserve the text as if it were a sacred formula, still we see growing up in Mahayanist works ideas about the sanctity and efficacy of scripture which are foreign to the Pali Canon. Many sutras (for instance the Diamond Cutter) extol themselves as all-sufficient for salvation. the Prajñâ-pâramitâ commences with a salutation addressed not as usual to the Buddha but to the work itself, as if it were a deity, and Hodgson states that the Buddhists of Nepal worship their nine sacred books. Nor was the idea excluded that certain words, especially formulæ or spells called Dhâranî, have in themselves a mysterious efficacy and potency². Some of these are cited and recommended in the Lotus³. In so far as the repetition of sacred words or spells is regarded as an integral part of the religious life, the doctrine has no warrant in the earlier teaching. It obviously becomes more and more prominent in later works. But the idea itself is old, for it is clearly the same that produced a belief in the Brahmanic mantras, particularly the mantras of the Atharva Veda, and early Buddhism did not reject mantras in their proper place. Thus⁴ the deities present themselves to the Buddha and offer to teach him a formula which will protect his disciples from the attacks of evil spirits. Hsuan Chuang even states that the council which

¹ Sûtrâlanakâra, I 2

² See Waddell, "The Dhâranî cult" in *Orientalist* 1912, pp 155 ff

³ Chap. XXI, which is however a later addition

⁴ Dig. Nik. 32

sat at Rājagṛha after the Buddha's death compiled five Pīṭakas one of which consisted of Dhāraṇīs¹ and it may be that the collection of such texts was begun as early as the collection of discourses and rules. But for many centuries there is no evidence that they were in any way confounded with the Dharma.

The Mahayanist scriptures are so voluminous that not even the clergy were expected to master any considerable part of them². Indeed they make no claim to be a connected whole. The theory was rather that there were many vehicles plying on the road to salvation and many guide books. No traveller thought of taking the whole library but only a few volumes which suited him. Most of the Chinese and Japanese sects avowedly base themselves upon three sūtras selected according to the taste of each school from the hundreds quoted in catalogues. Thus the T'ien tai sect has for its scriptures the Lotus, the Nīrvāṇa-sūtra and the Prajñā pāramitā while the Shin shu sect admits only the three Amidaist sūtras.

The following are the names of some of the principal Mahayanist scriptures. Comparatively few of them have been published in Europe and some exist only in Chinese or Japanese translations.

1. Prajñā pāramitā or transcendental knowledge³ is a generic name given to a whole literature consisting of treatises on the doctrine of śūnyatā which vary greatly in length. They are classed as sūtras being described as discourses delivered by the Buddha on the Vulture Peak. At least ten are known besides excerpts which are sometimes described as substantive works. The great collection translated into Chinese by Hsüan Chuang is said to consist of 200,000 verses and to comprise sixteen different sūtras⁴. The earliest translation of one of these treatises into Chinese (Nanjio 5) was made about 170 A.D. and

¹ Watters, *Yōmei Ōkoku* II. p. 160.

² The Mahāvīyutpatti (65) gives a list of 103 sūtras.

³ The word pāramitā means as an adjective goes to the farther shore or transcendent. As a feminine substantive it means a transcendent virtue or perfection.

See Walliser, *Prajñāpāramitā in Quellen der Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 15 ff. S.B.E. XLIX. Nanjio, Catalogue Nos. 1-20 and Rajendralala Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, pp. 177 ff. Versions are mentioned consisting of 125,000 verses, 100,000 verses, 25,000 verses, 10,000 verses and 8000 verses respectively. (Similarly at the beginning of the Mahābhārata we are told that the Epic consists of 8800 verses, of 24,000 and of 100,000.) Of these the last or Aśṭasādhikā has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* and the second or Śat saṁskṛitā is in process.

everything indicates that portions of the Prajñā-pāramitā are among the earliest Mahayanist works and date from about the first century of our era. Prajñā not only means knowledge of the absolute truth, that is to say of śūnyatā or the void, but is regarded as an ontological principle synonymous with Bodhi and Dharma-kāya. Thus Buddhas not only possess this knowledge in the ordinary sense but they *are* the knowledge manifest in human form, and Prajñā is often personified as a goddess. All these works lay great stress on the doctrine of śūnyatā, and the non-existence of the world of experience. The longest recension is said to contain a polemic against the Hīnayana.

The Diamond Cutter is one of the best known of these transcendental treatises and the two short works called Heart of the Prajñāpāramitā, which are widely read in Japan, appear to be brief abstracts of the essence of this teaching.

2 The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, or Lotus of the Good Law¹, is one of the best known Mahayanist sutras and is highly esteemed in China and Japan. It purports to be a discourse delivered by Śākyamuni on the Vulture Peak to an assemblage of Bodhisattvas. The Lotus clearly affirms the multiplicity of vehicles, or various ways of teaching the law, and also the eternity of the Buddha, but it does not emphasize, although it mentions, the doctrine of śūnyatā. The work consists of two parts of which the second (chaps. XXI-XXVI) is a later addition. This second part contains spells and many mythological narratives, including one of an ancient Bodhisattva who burnt himself alive in honour of a former Buddha. Portions of the Lotus were translated into Chinese under the Western Tsin Dynasty 265-316 A.D. and it is quoted in the Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sāstra ascribed to Nāgārjuna². The first part is

of publication. It is in prose, so that the expression "verses" appears not to mean that the works are Gāthās. A Khotanese version of the Vajracchedikā is edited in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains* by Sten Konow. The Sanskrit text was edited by Max Müller in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

¹ The Sanskrit text has been edited by Kern and Nanjio in *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, translated by Burnouf (*Le Lotus de la bonne Loi*), 1852 and by Kern (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*) in *S B E* vol. XXI.

² There appears to have been an earlier Chinese version of 255 A.D. but it has been lost. See Nanjio, p. 390. One of the later Chinese versions alludes to the existence of two recensions (Nanjio, No. 139). See *B E F E O* 1911, p. 453. Fragments of a shorter and apparently earlier recension of the Lotus have been discovered in E. Turkestan. See *J R A S* 1916, pp. 269-277.

probably not later than the first century A.D. The Lotus is unfortunately accessible to English readers only in a most unpoetic translation by the late Professor Kern but it is a great religious poem which starting from humanly regards religion as cosmic and universal, rather than something mainly concerned with our earth. The discourses of Sâkyamuni are accompanied in it by stupendous miracles culminating in a grand cosmic phantasmagoria in which is evoked the stupa containing the body of a departed Buddha that is a shrine containing the eternal truth.

3 The *Lalitavistara*¹ is a life of Sâkyamuni up to the commencement of his mission. Though the setting of the story is miraculous and Buddhas and Bodhisattvas innumerable are freely spoken of, yet the work does not enunciate the characteristic Mahayanist doctrines so definitely as the other treatises here enumerated. It is said to have originally belonged to the school of the Sarvâstivâdins and to have been subsequently accepted by the Mahayanists and though it is not an epic but a collection of ballads and legends yet it often reads as if it were a preliminary study for Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacarita*. It contains Sanskrit versions of old legends which are almost verbal renderings of the Pali text but also new material and seems to be conscious of relating novelties which may arouse scepticism for it interrupts the narrative to anathematize those who do not believe in the miracles of the Nativity and to extol the merits of faith (*śraddhā* not *bhakti*). It is probably coeval with the earlier Gandharan art but there are no facts to fix its date².

4 The *Lankāvatāra*³ gives an account of the revelation of the good Law by Sâkyamuni when visiting Lanka. It is presumably subsequent to the period when Ceylon had become a

¹ Edited by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Bibliotheca Indica* and partially translated in the same series. A later critical edition by Lefmann, 1902-8.

² The early Chinese translations seem doubtful. One said to have been made under the later Han has been lost. See Nanjio No. 159.

³ See Burnouf *Introduction*, pp. 458 ff. and *J.R.A.S.* 1905, pp. 831 ff. Rajendralala Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* p. 113. A brief analysis is given in *J.A.S.B.* June 1905 according to which the sūtra professes to be the work of a human author Jina of the clan of Kātyâyana born at Campā. An edition of the Sanskrit text published by the Buddhist Text Society is cited but I have not seen it. Chinese translations were made in 443 and 518 but the first is incomplete and does not correspond with our Sanskrit text.

centre of Buddhism, but the story is pure fancy and unconnected with history or with older legends. It relates how the Buddha alighted on Mt Malaya in Lanka. Ravana came to pay his respects and asked for definitions of virtue and vice which were given. The Bodhisattva Mahāmātī (apparently Mañjuśrī) proceeded to propound a series of more abstruse questions which are answered at considerable length. The Lankāvatāra represents a mature phase of speculation and not only criticizes the Sāṅkhya, Pāsupata and other Hindu schools, but is conscious of the growing resemblance of Mahayanism to Brahmanic philosophy and tries to explain it. It contains a prophecy about Nāgārjuna and another which mentions the Guptas, and it appears to allude to the domination of the Huns. This allusion would make its date as late as the sixth century but a translation into Chinese which is said to correspond with the Sanskrit text was made in 513. If so the barbarians referred to cannot be the Huns. An earlier translation made in 443 does not agree with our Sanskrit text and perhaps the work existed in several recensions.

5 The Suvāna-prabhāsa or Glitter of Gold¹ is a Vāipulya sūtra in many ways resembling the Lotus. It insists on the supernatural character of the Buddha. He was never really born nor entered into Nirvāna but is the Dharma-kāya. The scene is laid at Rājagṛha and many Brahmanic deities are among the interlocutors. It was translated into Chinese about 420 A.D. and fragments of a translation into Uigur have been discovered in Turkestan². The contents comprise philosophy, legends and spells.

6 Ganda-vyūha³ or the Structure of the World, which is compared to a bubble. The name is not found in the catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka but the work is said to be the same as the Avatamsaka sūtra which is popular in the Far East under the name of Hua-yên in China or Ke-gon in Japan. The identity of the two books could not have been guessed from the extracts and analyses which have been published but is guaranteed by

¹ Abstract by Rajendralala Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.* p. 241.

² See Nanjio, No. 127 and F. W. K. Müller in *Abhandl. der K. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1908. The Uigur text is published in *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, 1914. Fragments of the Sanskrit text have also been found in Turkestan.

³ Abstract by Raj. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.* pp. 90 ff. The Śikshāsamuccaya cites the Ganda-vyūha several times and does not mention the Avatamsaka.

high authorities¹ It is possible however that the Ganda vyuha is only a portion of the larger work called Avatamsaka So far as can be judged from the extracts this text preaches in a fully developed form the doctrines of Śūnyatā Dharma kāya the omnipresence of the Buddha and the redemption of the world by the exertions of Bodhisattvas Yet it seems to be early for a portion of it was translated into Chinese about 170 A.D. (Nanjio 102) and about 405 Kumārajīva translated a commentary on it ascribed to Nāgārjuna (Nanjio 1160)

7 *Tathāgata-guhyaka* This work is known by the analysis of Rajendralala Mitra from which it appears to be a Tantra of the worst class and probably late Its proper title is said to be Śrīguhyasamaja Watanabe states that the work catalogued by Nanjio under No. 1027 and translated into Chinese about 1000 A.D. is an expurgated version of it The Śikahāsamuccaya cites the Tathāgata-guhyā sūtra several times The relations of these works to one another are not quite clear

8 *Samādhirāja*² is a Vyākaraṇa or narrative describing different forms of meditation of which the Samādhirāja is the greatest and best The scene is laid on the Vulture's Peak and the principal interlocutors are Śākyamuni and Candraprabhā a rich man of Rājagṛha It appears to be the same as the Candrapradīpa-sūtra and is a complete and copious treatise which not only expounds the topic from which it takes its name but incidentally enumerates the chief principles of Mahayanism Watanabe³ states that it is the Yüeh t'ing san mei-ching (Nanjio 191) translated about 450 and again in 557 A.D.

9 *Daśabhūmīkara*⁴ An account of the ten stages in the career of a Bodhisattva before he can attain to Buddhahood The scene is laid in the paradise of Indra where Śākyamuni was temporarily sojourning and the principal interlocutor is a Bodhisattva named Vajragarbha It is said to be the same as the Daśabhūmika-sūtra first translated into Chinese about 300 A.D.

¹ The statement was first made on the authority of Takakura quoted by Winternitz in *Gen. Ind. Lit.* II. I. p. 4. Watanabe in *J.R.A.S.* 1911 663 makes an equally definite statement as to the identity of the two works. The identity is confirmed by Palilot in *J.A.* 1914, II. pp. 118-121

² Abstract by Raj. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.* pp. 81 ff. Quoted in Śāntideva's *Boṭhiśatyāvatāra*, VIII. 100.

³ See *J.R.A.S.* 1911 603.

⁴ Abstract by Raj. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.* pp. 81 ff.

(Nanjio, 105 and 110) but this work appears to be merely a portion of the Ganda-vyûha or Avatamsaka mentioned above

These nine works are all extant in Sanskrit and are known in Nepal as the nine Dharmas, the word Dharma being an abbreviation for *Dharmaparyâya*, revolution or exposition of the law, a term frequently used in the works themselves to describe a comprehensive discourse delivered by the Buddha. They are all quoted in the Śikshâsamuccaya, supposed to have been written about 650 A.D. No similar collection of nine seems to be known in Tibet or the Far East and the origin of the selection is obscure. As however the list does not include the Svayambhû Purâna, the principal indigenous scripture of Nepal, it may go back to an Indian source and represent an old tradition.

Besides the nine Dharmas, numerous other sūtras exist in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and the languages of Central Asia. Few have been edited or translated and even when something is known of their character detailed information as to their contents is usually wanting. Among the better known are the following:

10 One of the sūtras most read in China and admired because its style has a literary quality unusual in Buddhist works is commonly known as the Lêng-yen-ching. The full title is Shou-lêng-yen-san-mei-ching which is the Chinese transliteration of Śûrangama Samâdhi¹. This sūtra is quoted by name in the Śikshâsamuccaya and fragments of the Sanskrit text have been found in Turkestan². The Śûrangama-Samâdhi Sūtra has been conjectured to be the same as the Samâdhirâja, but the accounts of Rajendralala Mitra and Beal do not support this theory. Beal's translation leaves the impression that it resembles a Pali sutta. The scene is laid in the Jetavana with few miraculous accessories. The Buddha discusses with Ânanda the location of the soul and after confuting his theories expounds the doctrine of the Dharma-kâya. The fragments found in Turkestan recommend a particular form of meditation.

11 Târanâtha informs us that among the many Mahayanist works which appeared in the reign of Kanishka's son was the

¹ Translated in part by Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, pp 286-369. See also Teitaro Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahâyâna*, p 157. For notices of the text see Nanjio, Nos 399, 446, 1588. Fa Hsien, chap XLIX. For the equivalence of Shou-lêng-yen and Śûrangama see Nanjio's note to No 399 and Julien, *Méthode*, 1007 and Vasilief, p 175.

² See Śikshâs, ed Bendall, pp 8, 91 and Hoernle, *Manuscript remains*, I pp 125 ff.

Ratna-kûṭa-dharma paryāya in 1000 sections and the Ratnakûṭa is cited not only by the Śikṣhāsamuccaya but by Asaṅga¹. The Tibetan and Chinese canons contain sections with this name comprising forty-eight or forty-nine items among which are the three important treatises about Amitābha a paradise and many dialogues called Paripicchā that is questions put by some personage human or superhuman and furnished with appropriate replies². The Chinese Ratnakûṭa is said to have been compiled by Bodhiruci (603-713 A.D.) but of course he is responsible only for the selection not for the composition of the works included. Section 14 of this Ratnakûṭa is said to be identical with chapters 11 and 12 of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya³.

12 The Guṇa kāranda vyūha and Kāranda vyūha are said to be two recensions of the same work the first in verse the second in prose. Both are devoted to the praise of Avalokita who is represented as the presiding deity of the universe. He has refused to enter Buddhahood himself until all living creatures attain to true knowledge and is specially occupied in procuring the release of those who suffer in hell. The Guṇa kāranda vyūha contains a remarkable account of the origin of the world which is said to be absent from the prose version. The primeval Buddha spirit Ādi Buddha or Svayambhū produces Avalokita by meditation and Avalokita produces the material world and the gods of Hinduism from his body. Śiva from his forehead, Nārāyaṇa from his heart and so on. As such doctrines are not known to have appeared in Indian Buddhism before the tenth century it seems probable that the versified edition is late. But a work with the title Ratna kāranda vyūha-sūtra was translated into Chinese in 270 and the Kāranda vyūha is said to have been the first work translated into Tibetan⁴.

¹ Mahāyāna-sūtrāḥ, kṛta, XIX, 29.

² E.g. the Rāhita-pāṭha paripicchā edited in Sanskrit by Finot, *Biblioth. Buddhica*, 1901. The Sanskrit text seems to agree with the Chinese version. The real number of sūtras in the Ratna-kūṭa seems to be 48, two being practically the same but presented as uttered on different occasions.

³ There is another somewhat small collection of sūtras in the Chinese Canon called Ta-tai or Mahā-sannipāta but unlike the Ratnakūṭa it seems to contain few well-known or popular works.

I know of these works only by Raj Mitra's abstracts, *Nepal. Ind. Lit.* pp. 95 and 101. The prose text is said to have been published in Sanskrit at Calcutta, 1873.

13 The Karunâ-pundarîka¹ or Lotus of Compassion is mainly occupied with the description of an imaginary continent called Padmadhâtu, its Buddha and its many splendours. It exists in Sanskrit and was translated into Chinese about 400 A.D. (Nanjio, No 142)

14 The Mahâvairocânâbhisambhodhi called in Chinese Ta-juh-ching or Great Sun sutra should perhaps be mentioned as it is the principal scripture of the Chên-yen (Japanese Shingon) school. It is a late work of unknown origin. It was translated into Chinese in 724 A.D. but the Sanskrit text has not been found.

There are a great number of other sutras which are important for the history of literature, although little attention is paid to them by Buddhists at the present day. Such are the Mahayanist version of the Mahâparinirvâna recounting the death and burial of the Buddha and the Mahâsannipâta-sûtra, which apparently includes the Sûryagarbha and Candragarbha sûtras. All these works were translated into Chinese about 420 A.D. and must therefore be of respectable antiquity.

Besides the sutras, there are many compositions styled Avadânas or pious legends². These, though recognized by Mahayanists, do not as a rule contain expositions of the Śūnyatâ and Dharma-kâya and are not sharply distinguished from the more imaginative of the Hinayanist scriptures³. But they introduce a multiplicity of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and represent Śâkyamuni as a superhuman worker of miracles.

They correspond in many respects to the Pali Vinaya but teach right conduct not so much by precept as by edifying stories and, like most Mahayanist works they lay less stress upon monastic discipline than on unselfish virtue exercised throughout successive existences. There are a dozen or more collections of Avadânas of which the most important are the Mahâvastu and the Divyâvadâna. The former⁴ is an encyclopædic work which contains *inter alia* a life of Śâkyamuni. It describes itself as

¹ Raj Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.* pp 285 ff. The Sanskrit text was published for the Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta, 1898.

² Avadâna is primarily a great and glorious act hence an account of such an act.

³ The Avadâna śataka (Feer, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XVIII) seems to be entirely Hinayanist.

⁴ Edited by Senart, 3 vols 1882-1897. Windisch, *Die Komposition des Mahâvastu*, 1909. Article "Mahâvastu" in *E R E*.

belonging to the Lokottaravādins a section of the Āryamahāsaṅghikas. The Lokottaravādins were an ancient sect precursors of the Mahāyāna rather than a branch of it and much of the Mahāvastu is parallel to the Pāli Canon and may have been composed a century or two before our era. But other parts seem to belong to the Gandhāran period and the mention of Chinese and Hūnnish writing points to a much later date¹. If it was originally a Vinaya treatise it has been distended out of all recognition by the addition of legends and anecdotes but it still retains a certain amount of matter found also in the Pāli and Tibetan Vinayas. There were probably several recensions in which successive additions were made to the original nucleus. One interpolation is the lengthy and important section called Daśabhūmika, describing the career of a Bodhisattva. It is the only part of the Mahāvastu which can be called definitely Mahāyanist. The rest of the work marks a transitional stage in doctrine just as its language is neither Prakrit or Sanskrit but some ancient vernacular brought into partial conformity with Sanskrit grammar. No Chinese translation is known.

The Divyāvadāna² is a collection of legends, part of which is known as the Asokāvadāna and gives an edifying life of that pious monarch. This portion was translated into Chinese A.D. 317-420 and the work probably dates from the third century of our era. It is loosely constructed considerable portions of it seem to be identical with the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins and others with passages in the works of Aśvaghoṣa.

The Avadānas lie on the borderland between scripture and pious literature which uses human argument and refers to scripture for its authority. Of this literature the Mahāyanist church has a goodly collection and the works ascribed to such doctors as Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu hold a high place in general esteem. The Chinese Canon places many of them in the Pīṭakas (especially in the Ahhidharma Pīṭaka) and not among the works of miscellaneous writers.

The Mahāyanist scriptures are still a living force. In Nepal the nine Dharmas receive superstitious homage rather than

¹ So too do the words Horipāthaka (astrologer), Ujjebbhaka (? Uzbek), Pell yakah (? Felix). The word Yogācāra (i. 1st) may refer simply to the practice of Yoga and not to the school which bore this name.

² Edited by Cowell and Neill, 1886. See Nanjio, 1344.

intelligent study, but in Tibet and the Far East the Prajñâ-pâramitâ, the Lotus and the sutras about Amitâbha are in daily use for public worship and private reading. I have heard the first-named work as well as the Lêng-yen-ching expounded, that is, read aloud with an extempore paraphrase, to lay congregations in China, and the section of it called the Diamond Cutter is the book which is most commonly in the hands of religious Tibetans. The Lotus is the special scripture of the Nichiren sect in Japan but is universally respected. The twenty-fourth chapter which contains the praises of Avalokita is often printed separately. The Amitâbha sūtras take the place of the New Testament for the Jōdō and Shin sects and copies of them may also be found in almost every monastery throughout China and Annam. The Suvānaprabhāsa is said to be specially popular among the Mongols. I know Chinese Buddhists who read the Hua-yen (Avatamsaka) every day. Modern Japanese writers quote frequently from the Lankâvatâra and Kâśyapa-parivarta but I have not met with any instance of these works being in popular use.

I have mentioned already the obscurity surrounding the history of the Mahayanist Canon in India and it may seem to throw doubt on the authenticity of these scriptures. Unauthentic they certainly are in the sense that European criticism is not likely to accept as historical the discourses which they attribute to the Buddha and others, but there is no reason to doubt that they are treatises composed in India early in our era and representing the doctrines then prevalent. The religious public of India has never felt any difficulty in accepting works of merit

and often only very moderate merit as revelations, whether called Upanishads, Puranas, Sutras or what not. Only rarely have such works received any formal approbation, such as recognition by a council. Indeed it is rather in Ceylon, Burma, Tibet and China than in India itself that authoritative lists of scriptures have been compiled. The natural instinct of the Hindus was not to close the Canon but to leave it open for any additions which might be vouchsafed.

Two sketches of an elastic Mahayanist Canon of this kind are preserved, one in the Śikshâsamuccaya¹ attributed to Śântideva, who probably flourished in the seventh century, and

¹ Edited by Bendall in *Bibl. Buddhica*

the other in a little work called the Doration of the Law reporting a discourse by an otherwise unknown Nandimitra said to have lived in Ceylon 800 years after the Buddha's death¹. The former is a compendium of doctrine illustrated by quotations from what the author regarded as scripture. He cites about a hundred Mahayanist sutras: refers to the Vinaya and Divya vadāna but not apparently to the Abhidharma. He mentions no Tantras² and not many Dhāraṇīs.

The second work was translated by Hsüan Chuang and was therefore probably written before 600 A.D.³ Otherwise there is no external evidence for fixing its date. It represents Nandimitra as explaining on his deathbed the steps taken by the Buddha to protect the True Law and in what works that Law is to be found. Like the Chinese Tripiṭaka it recognizes both Mahayanist and Hinayanist works but evidently prefers the former and styles them collectively Bodhisattva Piṭaka. It enumerates about fifty sutras by name beginning with the Prajñā pāramitā the Lotus and other well known texts. Then comes a list of works with titles ending in Samādhi followed by others called Paṃpīcchā⁴ or questions. A new category seems to be formed by the Buddhāvataṃsaka sūtra with which the sutras about Amitābha's Paradise are associated. Then comes the Mahāsaṃnipāta sūtra associated with works which may correspond to the Ratoakūṭa division of the Chinese Canon⁵. The writer adds that there are hundreds of myriads of similar sutras classified in groups and categories. He mentions the Vinaya and Abhidharma without further particulars whereas in describing the Hinayanist versions of these two Piṭakas he gives many details.

The importance of this list lies in the fact that it is Indian rather than in its date for the earliest catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka compiled about⁶ 510 is perhaps older and certainly

Nanjio, No. 1406. For a learned discussion of this work see Lévi and Chavannes in *J.A.* 1916, Nos. 1 and II.

It is not likely that the Tathāgatha-guhya-sūtra which it quotes is the same as the Tantra with a similar name analysed by Rajendralal Mitra.

² Watters, *J.R.A.S.* 1898, p. 331 says there seems to have been an earlier tra. 1 Hon.

Many works with this title will be found in Nanjio.

But the Chinese title seems rather to represent Ratnarāsi.

See Nanjio, pp. xiii xvii.

ampler But if the catalogue stood alone, it might be hard to say how far the selection of works in it was due to Chinese taste But taking the Indian and Chinese evidence together, it is clear that in the sixth century Indian Mahayanists (a) tolerated Hinayanist scriptures while preferring their own, (b) made little use of the Vinaya or Abhidharma for argument or edification, though the former was very important as a code, (c) recognized extremely numerous sutras, grouped in various classes such as Mahāsannipāta and Buddhāvataṃsaka, (d) and did not use works called Tantras Probably much the same is true of the fourth century and even earlier, for Asanga in one work¹ quotes both Maha- and Hinayanist scriptures and among the former cites by name seventeen sutras, including one called Paripricchā or questions

¹ Mahāyāna sūtrāṅkārā See Lévi's introduction, p 14 The "Questions" sutra is Brahma paripricchā

CHAPTER XVI

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAHAYANA

IN the previous chapters I have enumerated some features of Mahayanism such as the worship of Bodhisattvas leading to mythology the deification of Buddhas entailing a theology as complicated as the Christian creeds the combination of metaphysics with religion, and the rise of new scriptures consecrating all these innovations. I will now essay the more difficult task of arranging these phenomena in some sort of chronological setting.

The voluminous Chinese literature concerning Buddhism offers valuable assistance for the Chinese unlike the Hindus have a natural disposition to write simple narratives recording facts and dates. But they are diarists and chroniclers rather than historians. The Chinese pilgrims to India give a good account of their itinerary and experiences but they have little idea of investigating and arranging past events and merely recount traditions connected with the places which they visited. In spite of this their statements have considerable historical value and on the whole harmonize with the literary and archaeological data furnished by India.

The Tibetan Lama Tāranātha who completed his History of Indian Buddhism¹ in 1608 is a less satisfactory authority. He merits attention but also scepticism and caution. His work is a compilation but is not to be despised on that ground for the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit works offer a rich mine of information about the history of the Mahayana. Unfortunately few of these works take the historical point of view and Tāranātha's own method is as uncritical as his materials. Dire confusion prevails as to chronology and even as to names² so

¹ Translated by Schiefner 1869. Tāranātha informs us (p. 281) that his chief authorities were the history of Kāśemoodrabhadra, the Buddhapurāṇa of Indra-datta and Bhāṭaghatti's history of the succession of the Aśvins.

² The Tibetans generally translate instead of transliterating Indian names. It is as if an English history of Greece were to speak of Leader of the People instead of Agesilaus.

that the work is almost useless as a connected account, though it contains many interesting details

Two epochs are of special importance for the development of later Indian Buddhism, that of Kanishka and that of Vasubandhu and his brother Asanga. The reader may expect me to discuss at length the date of Kanishka's accession, but I do not propose to do so for it may be hoped that in the next few years archaeological research in India or Central Asia will fix the chronology of the Kushans and meanwhile it is waste of time to argue about probabilities or at any rate it can be done profitably only in special articles. At present the majority of scholars place his accession at about 78 A D, others put it back to 58 B C and arrange the Kushan kings in a different order¹, while still others² think that he did not come to the throne until the second century was well advanced. The evidence of art, particularly of numismatics, indicates that Kanishka reigned towards the end of his dynasty rather than at the beginning, but the use of Greek on his coins and his traditional connection with the beginnings of the Mahayana are arguments against a very late date. If the date 78 A D is accepted, the conversion of the Yueh-chih to Buddhism and its diffusion in Central Asia cannot have been the work of Kanishka, for Buddhism began to reach China by land about the time of the Christian era³. There is however no reason to assume that they were his work. Kanishka, like Constantine, probably favoured a winning cause, and Buddhism may have been gradually making its way among the Kushans and their neighbours for a couple of centuries before his time. In any case, however important his reign may

¹ They place Kanishka, Vāsishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva before Kadphises I and Kadphises II

² E.g. Staël Holstein who also thinks that Kanishka's tribe should be called Kusha not Kushan. Vincent Smith in his latest work (*Oxford History of India*, p. 130) gives 120 A D. as the most probable date

³ My chief difficulty in accepting 78-123 A D. as the reign of Kanishka is that the Chinese Annals record the doings of Pan Ch'ao between 73 and 102 in Central Asia, with which region Kanishka is believed to have had relations, and yet do not mention his name. This silence makes it *prima facie* probable that he lived either before or after Pan Ch'ao's career

The catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka state that An Shih Kao (148-170 A D.) translated the Mārgabhūmi sūtra of Sangharakṣa, who was the chaplain of Kanishka. But this unfortunately proves nothing except that Kanishka cannot have been very late. The work is not a scripture for whose recognition some lapse of time must be postulated. An Shih Kao, who came from the west, may very well have translated a recent and popular treatise

texts and inscriptions goes to show that the Buddhists of Asoka's time held the chief doctrines subsequently professed by the Sinhalese Church and did not hold the other set of doctrines known as Mahayanist. That these latter are posterior in time is practically admitted by the books that teach them, for they are constantly described as the crown and completion of a progressive revelation. Thus the Lotus¹ illustrates the evolution of doctrine by a story which curiously resembles the parable of the prodigal son except that the returned penitent does not recognize his father, who proceeds to reveal gradually his name and position, keeping back the full truth to the last. Similarly it is held in the Far East that there were five periods in Śākya-muni's teaching which after passing through the stage of the Hinayana culminated in the Prajñā-pāramitā and Amitābha sutras shortly before his death. Such statements admit the historical priority of the Hinayana: it is rudimentary (that is early) truth which needs completion and expansion. Many critics demur to the assumption that primitive Buddhism was a system of ethics purged of superstition and mythology. And in a way they are right. Could we get hold of a primitive Buddhist, we should probably find that miracles, magic, and superhuman beings played a large part in his mind and that the Buddha did not appear to him as what we call a human teacher. In that sense the germs of the Mahayana existed in the lifetime of Gotama. But the difference between early and later Buddhism lies in this, that the deities who surround the Buddha in the Pali Pitakas are mere accessories: his teaching would not be affected if they were all removed. But the Bodhisattvas in the Lotus or the Sutra of the Happy Land have a doctrinal significance.

Though in India old ideas persist with unusual vitality, still even there they can live only if they either develop or gather round them new accretions. As one of the religions of India, Buddhism was sensitive to the general movement of Indian thought, or rather it was a part of that movement. We see as clearly in Buddhist as in non-Buddhist India that there was a tendency to construct philosophic systems and another tendency to create deities satisfying to the emotions as well as to the intellect and yet another tendency to compose new scriptures. But apart

¹ Chap. IV

from this parallel development it becomes clear after the Christian era that Buddhism is becoming surrounded by Hinduism. The influence is not indeed one sided: there is interdependence and interpenetration but the net result is that the general Indian features of each religious period overpower the specially Buddhist features and in the end we find that while Hinduism has only been profoundly modified Buddhism has vanished.

If we examine the Pali Pitakas including the heresies mentioned in the Kathāvatthu we find that they contain the germs of many Mahayanist ideas. Thus side by side with the human portrait of the Buddha there is the doctrine that he is one in a series of supernatural teachers each with the same life history and this life is connected with the whole course of nature as is shown by the sympathetic earthquakes which mark its crises. His birth is supernatural and had he willed it he could have lived until the end of the present kalpa¹. So too the nature of a Buddha when he is released from form that is after death is deep and unfathomable as the ocean². The Kathāvatthu condemns the ideas (thus showing that they existed) that Buddhas are born in all quarters of the universe that the Buddha was superhuman in the ordinary affairs of life that he was not really born in the world of men and that he did not preach the Law himself. These last two heresies are attributed by the commentary to the Vetulyakas who are said to have believed that he remained in the Tushita heaven and sent a phantom to preach on earth. Here we have the rudiments of the doctrine afterwards systematized under the name of the three bodies of Buddha. Similarly though Nirvana is regarded as primarily an ethical state the Pali Canon contains the expression Nirvāṇa dhātu and the idea³ that Nirvana is a sphere or realm (*āyatana*) which transcends the transitory world and in which such antitheses as coming and going birth and death cease to exist. This foreshadows the doctrine of Bhūta tattvatā and we seem to hear a prelude to the dialectic of Nāgārjuna when the Kathāvatthu discusses whether Suññatā or the void is predicable of the Skandhas and when it condemns the views that anything now existing existed in the past and that knowledge of the present is possible (whereas the moment anything is known it

¹ Mahāparinib. Sot. III.

² Majj. Nik. 72.

³ Uddāna, VIII. 1-4.

is really past) The Kathâvatthu also condemns the proposition that a Bodhisattva can be reborn in realms of woe or fall into error, and this proposition hints that the career of a Bodhisattva was considered of general interest

The Mahayana grows out of the Hinayana and in many respects the Hinayana passes into it and is preserved unchanged. It is true that in reading the Lotus we wonder how this marvelous cosmic vision can represent itself as the teaching of Gotama, but the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosha, though embellished with literary mythology, hardly advances in doctrine beyond the Pali sutras describing the marvels of the Buddha's nativity¹ and the greater part of Nâgârjuna's Friendly Epistle, which purports to contain an epitome of the faith, is in phraseology as well as thought perfectly in harmony with the Pali Canon. Whence comes this difference of tone in works accepted by the same school? One difficulty of the historian who essays to account for the later phases of Buddhism is to apportion duly the influence of Indian and foreign elements. On the one hand, the Mahayana, whether we call it a development or perversion, is a product of Indian thought. To explain its trinities, its saviours, its doctrine of self sacrifice it is not necessary to seek abroad. New schools, anxious to claim continuity and antiquity, gladly retained as much of the old doctrine as they could. But on the other hand, Indian Buddhism came into contact with foreign, especially Iranian, ideas and undoubtedly assimilated some of them. From time to time I have drawn attention to such cases in this work, but as a rule the foreign ideas are so thoroughly mastered and indianized that they cease to be obvious. They merely open up to Indian thought a new path wherein it can move in its own way.

In the period following Asoka's death Buddhism suffered a temporary eclipse. Pushyamitra who in 184 B.C. overthrew the Mauryas and established the Sunga dynasty was a patron of the Brahmans. Târanâtha describes him² as a ferocious persecutor, and the Divyâvadâna supports the story. But the persecution, if it really occurred, was probably local and did not seriously check the spread of Buddhism, which before the time of Kanishka had extended northwards to Bactria and Kashmir. The latter territory became the special home of the Sarvâstivâdins. It was

¹ Accariyabbhutasuttam Majj Nik 123

² Chap. LVII

in the reign of Pushyamitra that the Greco-Bactrian king Menander or Milinda invaded India (155-3 B.C.) and there were many other invasions and settlements of tribes coming from the north west and variously described as Sakas Pahlavas Parthians and Yavanas culminating in the conquests of the Kushans. The whole period was disturbed and confused but some general statements can be made with considerable confidence.

From about 300 B.C. to 100 A.D. we find inscriptions buildings and statues testifying to the piety of Buddhist and Jain donors but hardly any indications of a similar liberality to Brahmans. In the second and third centuries A.D. grants of land to Brahmans and their temples begin to be recorded and in the fourth century (that is with the rise of the Gupta Dynasty) such grants become frequent. These facts can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as meaning that from 300 B.C. to 100 A.D. the upper classes of India favoured Buddhism and Jainism and did not favour the Brahmans in the same way or to the same extent. But it must be remembered that the religion of the Brahmans continued throughout this period and produced a copious literature and also that the absence of works of art may be due to the fact that their worship was performed in sacrificial enclosures and that they had not yet begun to use temples and statues. After the first century A.D. we have first a gradual and then a rapid rise in Brahmanic influence. Inscriptions as well as books indicate that a linguistic change occurred in the same period. At first popular dialects were regarded as sufficiently dignified and current to be the medium for both scripture and official records. Sanskrit remained a thing apart—the peculiar possession of the Brahman literati. Then the popular language was Sanskritized the rules of Sanskrit grammar being accepted as the standard to which it ought to conform though perfect conformity was impracticable. In much the same way the modern Greeks try to bring Romance into line with classical Greek. Finally Sanskrit was recognized as the proper language for literature government and religion. The earliest inscriptions¹ in correct Sanskrit seem to date from the second century A.D. Further the invaders who entered India from the

¹ That of Rudradama at Girnar dated 72 in the Saka Era, has hitherto been considered the oldest, but it is now said that one discovered at Isapur near Muttra is older. See *J.R.A.S.* 1912, p. 114.

north-west favoured Buddhism on the whole. Coins indicate that some of them worshipped Śiva¹ but the number and beauty of Buddhist monuments erected under their rule can hardly be interpreted except as a sign of their patronage. And their conversion was natural for they had no strong religious convictions of their own and the Brahmans with their pride of caste shrank from foreigners. But Buddhism had no prejudice of race or class: it was animated by a missionary spirit and it was probably the stronger creed at this period. It not only met the invaders on their entry into India but it sent missionaries to them in Bactria and Afghanistan, so that to some extent they brought Buddhism with them. But it was a Buddhism combined with the most varied elements. Hellenic art and religion had made the figures of Apollo, Herakles and Helios familiar in Bactria, and both Bactria and northern India were in touch with Zoroastrians. The mixed cults of these borderlands readily professed allegiance to the Buddha but, not understanding Indian ideas, simply made him into a deity and having done this were not likely to repudiate other Indian deities. Thus in its outward form the Buddhism of the invaders tended to be a compound of Indian, Greek and Persian ideas in which Sun worship played a large part, for not only Indian myths, but Apollo and Helios and the Persian Mithra all entered into it. Persian influence in art is discernible as early as the architecture of Asoka: in doctrine it has something to do with such figures as Vairocana and Amitābha. Græco-Roman influence also was powerful in art and through art affected religion. In Asoka's time likenesses of the Buddha were unknown and the adoration of images, if not entirely due to the art of Gandhara, was at least encouraged by it.

But though coins and sculpture bring clearly before us a medley of deities corresponding to a medley of human races, they do not help us much in tracing the growth of thought, phases of which are preserved in a literature sufficiently copious though the record sometimes fails at the points of transition where it would be of most interest. It is natural that sacred books should record accepted results rather than tentative innovations and even disguise the latter. But we can fix a few dates which enable us to judge what shape Buddhism was taking

about the time of the Christian era. The Tibetan historian Tāranātha is not of much help for his chronology is most confused but still he definitely connects the appearance of Mahayanist texts with the reign of Kanishka and the period immediately following it¹ and regards them as a new phenomenon. Greater assistance is furnished by the Chinese translators whose dates are known with some exactitude. Thus the earliest Buddhist work rendered into Chinese is said to be the sūtra of forty-two sections translated by Kāśyapa Mātanga in 67 A.D. It consists of extracts or resumés of the Buddha's teaching mostly prefaced by the words 'The Buddha said' doubtless in imitation of the Confucian Analects where the introductory formula 'The master said' plays a similar part. Its ideas and precepts are Hinayanist² the Arhat is held up as the ideal and in a remarkable passage³ where the degrees of sanctity are graded and compared no mention is made of Bodhisattvas. This first translation was followed by a long series of others principally from the Sūtra Piṭaka for very little of the Vinaya was translated before the fifth century. A great number of Hinayanist sūtras were translated before 300 A.D. but very few after 450. On the other hand portions of the sūtra about Amida's Paradise of the Prajñā pāramitā and of the Avataṃsaka were translated about 150 A.D. and translations of the Lotus and Lalita vistara appeared about 300.

Great caution is necessary in using these data and the circumstances of China as well as of India must be taken into account. If translations of the Vinaya and complete collections of sūtras are late in appearing it does not follow that the corresponding Indian texts are late for the need of the Vinaya was not felt until monasteries began to spring up. Most of the translations made before the fifth century are extracts and of indifferent workmanship. Some are retained in the Chinese Tripiṭaka but are superseded by later versions. But however inaccurate and incomplete these older translations may be if any of them can be identified with a part of an extant Sanskrit

¹ Chapa. XII-XIII.

² The last section (4) as translated by Teitaro Suzuki in the *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot* may seem an exception for it contains such statements as "I consider the doctrine of emptiness as the absolute ground of reality. But the translation seems to me doubtful."

³ Sec. 11.

work it follows that at least that part of the work and the doctrines contained in it were current in India or Central Asia some time before the translation was made. Applying this principle we may conclude that the Hinayana and Mahayana were flourishing side by side in India and Central Asia in the first century A D and that the Happy Land sutras and portions of the Prajñā-pāramitā already existed. From that time onwards Mahayanist literature as represented by Chinese translations steadily increases, and after 400 A D Hinayanist literature declines, with two exceptions, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma books of the Sarvāstivādins. The Vinaya was evidently regarded as a rule of life independent of theology, but it is remarkable that Hsuan Chuang after his return from India in 645 should have thought it worth while to translate the philosophy of the Sarvāstivādins.

Other considerations render this chronology probable. Two conspicuous features of the Mahayana are the worship of Bodhisattvas and idealist philosophy. These are obviously parallel to the worship of Śiva and Vishnu, and to the rise of the Vedānta. Now the worship of these deities was probably not prevalent before 300 B C, for they are almost unknown to the Pali Pitakas, and it was fully developed about the time of the Bhagavad-gītā which perhaps assumed its present form a little before the Christian era. Not only is the combination of devotion and metaphysics found in this work similar to the tone of many Mahayanist sutras but the manifestation of Krishna in his divine form is like the transformation scenes of the Lotus¹. The chief moral principle of the Bhagavad-gītā is substantially the same as that prescribed for Bodhisattvas. It teaches that action is superior to inaction, but that action should be wholly disinterested and not directed to any selfish object. This is precisely the attitude of the Bodhisattva who avoids the inaction of those who are engrossed in self-culture as much as the pursuit of wealth or pleasure. Both the Gītā and Mahayanist treatises lay stress on faith. He who thinks on Krishna when dying goes to Krishna² just as he who thinks on Amitābha goes

¹ Just as all gods and worlds are seen within Krishna's body, so we are told in the *Karanda vj uha* (which is however a later work) that in the pores of Avalokita's skin are woods and mountains where dwell saints and gods.

² Bhag. G. VIII. 5

to the Happy Land and the idea is not unknown to the Pali texts for it finds complete expression in the story of Maṭṭha kuṇḍali¹

The idea of a benevolent deity to be worshipped with devotion and faith and not with ceremonies is strange to old Buddhism and old Brahmanism alike. It was a popular idea which became so strong that neither priests nor Bhikshus could ignore it and in its ultimate result it is hard to say whether Buddhist or Brahmanic elements are more prominent. Both Avalokita and Krishna are Devas. The former has the beauty of holiness and the strength which it gives but also the weakness of a somewhat abstract figure the latter is very personal and springs from the heart of India but to those who are not Hindus seems wanting in purity and simplicity. The divine character of both figures is due to Brahmanism rather than Buddhism but the new form of worship which laid stress on a frame of mind rather than on ceremonial and the idea of Avatāras or the periodic appearance of superhuman saviours and teachers indicate the influence of Buddhism on Brahmanism.

There is a similar parallel between the newer Buddhist philosophy and the Vedantist school represented by Śaṅkara and Indian critics detected it. Śaṅkara was called a *Pracchanna buddha* or crypto buddhist by his theological opponents and the resemblance between the two systems in thought if not in word is striking. Both distinguish relative and absolute truth for both the relative truth is practically theism for both absolute truth is beyond description and whether it is called Brahman, Dharma kāya or *Sūnyatā* is not equivalent to God in the Christian or Mohammedan sense. Just as for the Vedantist there exist in the light of the highest knowledge neither a personal God nor an individual soul so the Mādhyamika Sūtra can declare that the Buddha does not really exist. The Mahayanist philosophers do not use the word *Māyā* but they state the same theory in a more subjective form by ascribing the appearance of the phenomenal world to ignorance a nomen

Commentary on Dhammapadam P.T.S. edition, pp. 25 ff. especially p. 33.

See Rāmānuja, *Sribhāṣya*, II., 27 and Padma-Purāṇa a Uttarakanda 43 (quoted by Shtankar in *Review Oriental Jour.* vol. xxii. 1908). *Māyāvādam asacchidatram pracchannam buddham ucyate*. The Mādhyas were pecially bitter in their denunciation of Śaṅkara.

clature which is derived from the Buddha's phrase, "From ignorance come the Sankhâras"

Here, as elsewhere, Buddhist and Brahmanic ideas acted and reacted in such complex interrelations that it is hard to say which has borrowed from the other. As to dates, the older Upanishads which contain the foundations but not the complete edifice of Vedantism, seem a little earlier than the Buddha. Now we know that within the Vedantist school there were divergences of opinion which later received classic expression in the hands of Śankara and Râmânuja. The latter rejected the doctrines of Mâyâ and of the difference between relative and absolute truth. The germs of both schools are to be found in the Upanishads but it seems probable that the ideas of Śankara were originally worked out among Buddhists rather than among Brahmans and were rightly described by their opponents as disguised Buddhism. As early as 520 A D Bodhidharma preached in China a doctrine which is practically the same as the Advaita.

The earliest known work in which the theory of Mâyâ and the Advaita philosophy are clearly formulated is the metrical treatise known as the Kârîkâ of Gaudapâda. This name was borne by the teacher of Śankara's teacher, who must have lived about 700 A D, but the high position accorded to the work, which is usually printed with the Mândûkya Upanishad and is practically regarded as¹ a part of it, make an earlier date probable. Both in language and thought it bears a striking resemblance to Buddhist writings of the Mādhyamika school and also contains many ideas and similes which reappear in the works of Śankara². On the other hand the Lankâvatâra Sûtra which was translated into Chinese in 513 and therefore can hardly have been composed later than 450, is conscious that its doctrines resemble Brahmanic philosophy, for an interlocutor

¹ Or as itself forming four separate Upanishads. For other arguments in favour of an early date see Walliser, *Älterer Vedânta*, pp 14 ff. He states that the Kârîkâ is quoted in the Tibetan translations of Bhavaviveka's *Târkaṣvâlâ*. Bhavaviveka was certainly anterior to the travels of Hsüan Chuang and perhaps was much earlier. But if he died about 600 A D a work quoted by him can hardly have been later than 550 and may be much earlier. But see also Jacobi in *J A O S* April, 1913, p 51.

² For the resemblances to Nâgârjuna see *J R A S* 1910, pp 136 ff. Especially remarkable are II 32 na nirodho na cotpattir, etc., and IV 59 and the whole argument that causation is impossible. Noticeable too is the use of Buddhist terms like upâya, nirvâṇa, buddha and âdibuddha, though not always in the Buddhist sense.

objects that the language used in it by the Buddha about the Tathāgatha-garbha is very like the Brahmanic doctrine of the Ātman. To which the Buddha replies that his language is a concession to those who cannot stomach the doctrine of the negation of reality in all its austerity. Some of the best known verses of Gaṇḍapāda compare the world of appearance to the apparent circle of fire produced by whirling a lighted torch. This striking image occurs first in the Maitrāyana Upanishad (VI, 24) which shows other indications of an acquaintance with Buddhism and also in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra.

A real affinity unites the doctrine of Sankara to the teaching of Gotama himself. That teaching as presented in the Pali Pitakas is marked by its negative and deliberately circumscribed character. Its rule is silence when strict accuracy of expression is impossible whereas later philosophy does not shrink from phrases which are suggestive if not exact. Gotama refuses to admit that the human soul is a fixed entity or Ātman, but he does not condemn (though he also does not discuss) the idea that the whole world of change and becoming including human souls is the expression or disguise of some one ineffable principle. He teaches too that the human mind can grow until it develops new faculties and powers and becomes the Buddha mind, which sees the whole chain of births the order of the world and the reality of emancipation. As the object of the whole system is practical Nirvana is always regarded as a *terminus ad quem* or an escape (*nivāranam*) from this transitory world and this view is more accurate as well as more edifying than the view which treats Brahman or Śūnyatā as the origin of the universe. When the Vedānta teaches that this changing troubled world is merely the disguise of that unchanging and untroubled state into which saints can pass it is I believe following Gotama's thought, but giving it an expression which he would have considered imperfect.

CHAPTER XXII

FROM KANISHKA TO VASUBANDHU

TRADITION, as mentioned above, connects the rise of the Mahayana with the reign of Kanishka. Materials for forming a picture of Indian life under his rule are not plentiful but it was clearly an age of fusion. His hereditary dominions were ample and he had no need to spend his reign in conquests, but he probably subdued Kashmir as well as Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar¹. Hostages from one of these states were sent to reside in India and all accounts agree that they were treated with generosity and that their sojourn improved the relations of Kanishka with the northern tribes. His capital was Purushapura or Peshawar, and the locality, like many other features of his reign, indicates a tendency to amalgamate India with Persia and Central Asia. It was embellished with masterpieces of Gandharan sculpture and its chief ornament was a great stûpa built by the king for the reception of the relics of the Buddha which he collected. This building is described by several Chinese pilgrims² and its proportions, though variously stated, were sufficient to render it celebrated in all the Buddhist world. It is said to have been several times burnt, and rebuilt, but so solid a structure can hardly have been totally destroyed by fire and the greater part of the monument discovered in 1908 probably dates from the time of Kanishka. The base is a square measuring 285 feet on each side, with massive towers at the corners, and on each of the four faces projections bearing statu-

¹ The uncertainty as to the date of Kanishka naturally makes it uncertain whether he was the hero of these conquests. Kashmir was certainly included in the dominions of the Kushans and was a favourite residence of Kanishka. About 90 A.D. a Kushan king attacked Central Asia but was repulsed by the Chinese general Pan Ch'ao. Later, after the death of Pan Ch'ao (perhaps about 103 A.D.), he renewed the attempt and conquered Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. See Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. pp. 253 ff.

² See Fa Hsien, ed. Legge, p. 33, *BEFEO* 1903 (Sung Yun), pp. 420 ff. Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, I pp. 204 ff. *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 1056, 1912, p. 114. For the general structure of these stûpas see Foucher, *L'art Gréco Bouddhique du Gandhara*, pp. 45 ff.

cases. The sides were ornamented with stucco figures of the Buddha and according to the Chinese pilgrims the superstructure was crowned with an iron pillar on which were set twenty five gilded disks. Inside was found a metal casket still containing the sacred bones and bearing an inscription which presents two points of great interest. Firstly it mentions

Agśāla the overseer of works at Kanishka's vihāra that is probably Agesilaus a foreigner in the king's service. Secondly it states that the casket was made for the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin sect¹ and the idea that Kanishka was the special patron of the Mahayana must be reconsidered in the light of this statement.

Legends ascribe Kanishka's fervour for the Buddhist faith not to education but to conversion. His coinage of which abundant specimens have been preserved confirms this for it presents images of Greek Persian Indian and perhaps Babylonian deities showing how varied was the mythology which may have mingled with Gandharan Buddhism. The coins bearing figures of the Buddha are not numerous and as he undoubtedly left behind him the reputation of a pious Buddhist it is probable that they were struck late in his reign and represent his last religious phase². Hsüan Chuang³ repeats some legends which relate that he was originally anti Buddhist and that after his conversion he summoned a council and built a stupa.

The substance of these legends is probable. Kanishka as a barbarian not docile conqueror was likely to adopt Buddhism if he wished to keep abreast of the thought and civilisation of his subjects for at that time it undoubtedly inspired the intellect and art of north western India. Both as a statesman and as an enquirer after truth he would wish to promote harmony and stop sectarian squabbles. His action resembles that of Constantine who after his conversion to Christianity proceeded to summon the Council of Nicaea in order to stop the dissensions of the Church and settle what were the tenets of the religion which he had embraced a point about which both he and

J.R.A.S. 1900 p. 1068. "Acaryanam Sarvastivadiṃ pratigrahaḥ."

¹ Similarly Hsüan became a Buddhist late in life.

Watters, vol. I. p. 203. He places Kanishka's accession 400 years after the death of the Buddha, which is one of the arguments for supposing Kanishka to have reigned about 50 A.C. but in another passage (Watters, I. 222, 224) he appears to place it 600 years after the death.

Kanishka seem to have felt some uncertainty. Our knowledge of Kanishka's Council depends chiefly on the traditions reported by Hsuan Chuang¹ which present many difficulties. He tells us that the king, acting in consultation with Parśva, issued summonses to all the learned doctors of his realm. They came in such crowds that a severe test was imposed and only 499 Arhats were selected. There was some discussion as to the place of meeting but finally Kashmir² was selected and the king built a monastery for the Brethren. When the Council met, there arose a question as to whether Vasumitra (who is not further described) should be admitted seeing that he was not an Arhat but aspired to the career of a Bodhisattva. But owing to the interposition of spirits he was not only admitted but made president.

The texts of the Tripitaka were collected and the Council "composed 100,000 stanzas of Upadeśa Śāstras explanatory of the canonical sūtras, 100,000 stanzas of Vinaya-vibhāṣhā Śāstras explanatory of the Vinaya and 100,000 of Abhidharma-vibhāṣhā Śāstras explanatory of the Abhidharma. For this exposition of the Tripitaka all learning from remote antiquity was thoroughly examined, the general sense and the terse language (of the Buddhist scriptures) was again and again made clear and distinct, and learning was widely diffused for the safe-guiding of disciples. King Kanishka caused the treatises when finished to be written out on copper plates and enclosed these in stone boxes which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose. He then ordered spirits to keep and guard the texts and not to allow any to be taken out of the country by heretics, those who wished to study them could do so in the country. When leaving to return to his own country, Kanishka renewed Asoka's gift of all Kashmir to the Buddhist Church³."

Paramārtha (499–569 A D) in his *Life of Vasubandhu*⁴ gives an account of a council generally considered to be the same as

¹ Watters, vol. I. 270–1

² But Tāranātha says some authorities held that it met at Jalandhara. Some Chinese works say it was held at Kandahar.

³ Watters, l c

⁴ Translated by Takakusu in *T'oung Pao*, 1904, pp. 269 ff. Paramārtha was a native of Ujjain who arrived at Nanking in 548 and made many translations, but it is quite possible that this life of Vasubandhu is not a translation but original notes of his own.

that described by Hsüan Chuang though the differences in the two versions are considerable. He says that about five hundred years¹ after the Buddha's death (i. e. between 87 B. C. and 13 A. D. If the Buddha died 487 B. C.) an Indian Arhat called Katyāyana putra who was a monk of the Sarvāstivādin school went to Kipin or Kashmir. There with 500 other Arhats and 600 Bodhi sattvas he collected the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins and arranged it in eight books called Ka lan ta (Sanskrit *Grantha*) or Kan tu (Pali *Gantho*). This compilation was also called Jñāna prasthāna. He then made a proclamation inviting all who had heard the Buddha preach to communicate what they remembered. Many spirits responded and contributed their reminiscences which were examined by the Council and when they did not contradict the sūtras and the Vinaya were accepted but otherwise were rejected. The selected pieces were grouped according to their subject matter. Those about wisdom formed the Prajñā Grantha and those about meditation the Dhyāna Grantha and so on. After finishing the eight books they proceeded to the composition of a commentary or Vibhāṣā and invited the assistance of Āśvaghoṣa. When he came to Kashmir Katyāyana putra expounded the eight books to him and Āśvaghoṣa put them into literary form. At the end of twelve years the composition of the commentary was finished. It consisted of 1 000 000 verses. Katyāyana putra set up a stone inscribed with this proclamation. Those who hereafter learn this law must not go out of Kashmir. No sentence of the eight books or of the Vibhāṣā must pass out of the land lest other schools or the Mahayana should corrupt the true law. This proclamation was reported to the king who approved it. The sages of Kashmir had power over demons and set them to guard the entrance to the country but we are told that anyone desirous of learning the law could come to Kashmir and was in no way interrupted.

There follows a story telling how despite this prohibition a native of Ayodhya succeeded in learning the law in Kashmir.

¹ Chinese expressions like "in the five hundred years after the Buddha's death" probably mean the period 400-500 of the era commencing with the Buddha's death and not the period 500-600. The period 1-100 is "the one hundred years," 101-200 "the two hundred years" and so on. See *B.F.F.E.O.* 1911: 356. But it must be remembered that the date of the Buddha's death is not yet certain. The latest theory (Vincent Smith, 1919) places it in 534 B.C.

and subsequently teaching it in his native land Paramârtha's account seems exaggerated, whereas the prohibition described by Hsuan Chuang is intelligible. It was forbidden to take the official copies of the law out of Kashmir, lest heretics should tamper with them.

Târanâtha¹ gives a singularly confused account of the meeting, which he expressly calls the third council, but makes some important statements about it. He says that it put an end to the dissensions which had been distracting the Buddhist Church *for nearly a century* and that it recognized all the eighteen sects as holding the true doctrine that it put the Vinaya in writing as well as such parts of the Sûtrapitaka and Abhidharma as were still unwritten and corrected those which already existed as written texts that all kinds of Mahayanist writings appeared at this time but that the Śrâvakas raised no opposition.

It is hard to say how much history can be extracted from these vague and discrepant stories. They seem to refer to one assembly regarded (at least in Tibet) as the third council of the Church and held under Kanishka four or five hundred years² after the Buddha's death. As to what happened at the council tradition seems to justify the following deductions, though as the tradition is certainly jumbled it may also be incorrect in details.

(a) The council is recognized only by the northern Church and is unknown to the Churches of Ceylon, Burma and Siam. It seems to have regarded Kashmir as sacred land outside which the true doctrine was exposed to danger. (b) But it was not a specially Mahayanist meeting but rather a conference of peace and compromise. Târanâtha says this clearly in Hsuan Chuang's account an assembly of Arhats (which at this time must have meant Hinayanists) elect a president who was not an Arhat and according to Paramârtha the assembly consisted of 500 Arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas who were convened by a leader of the Sarvâstivâdin school and ended by requesting Āśvaghoṣa to revise their work. (c) The literary result of the council was the

¹ Chap. xii

² See Watters, I pp. 222, 224 and 270. It is worth noting that Hsuan Chuang says Asoka lived one hundred years after the Buddha's death. See Watters, I p. 267. See also the note of S. Lévi in *J R A S* 1914, pp. 1016-1019, citing traditions to the effect that there were 300 years between Upagupta, the teacher of Asoka, and Kanishka, who is thus made to reign about 31 A.D. On the other hand Kanishka's chaplain Sangharakṣa is said to have lived 700 years after the Buddha.

composition of commentaries on the three Pitakas. One of these the Abhidharma mahāvibhāṣā śāstra translated into Chinese in 437-9 and still extant is said to be a work of encyclopædic character hardly a commentary in the strict sense. Paramārtha perhaps made a confusion in saying that the Jñāna prasthāna itself was composed at the council. The traditions indicate that the council to some extent sifted and revised the Tripiṭaka and perhaps it accepted the seven Abhidharma books of the Sarvāstivādins¹. But it is not stated or implied that it composed or sanctioned Mahayanist books. Tāranātha merely says that such books appeared at this time and that the Hinayanists raised no active objection.

But if the above is the gist of the traditions the position described is not clear. The council is recognized by Mahayanists yet it appears to have resulted in the composition of a Sarvāstivādin treatise and the tradition connecting the Sarvāstivādins with the council is not likely to be wrong for they are recognized in the inscription on Kanishka's casket and Gandhara and Kashmir were their headquarters. The decisions of councils are often politic rather than logical and it may be that the doctors summoned by Kanishka while compiling Sarvāstivādin treatises admitted the principle that there is more than one vehicle which can take mankind to salvation. Perhaps some compromise based on geography was arranged such as that Kashmir should be left to the Sarvāstivādin school which had long flourished there but that no opposition should be offered to the Mahayanists elsewhere.

The relations of the Sarvāstivādins to Mahayanism are exceedingly difficult to define and there are hardly sufficient materials for a connected account of this once important sect but I will state some facts about it which seem certain.

It is ancient, for the Kathāvatthu alludes to its doctrines². It flourished in Gandhara, Kashmir and Central Asia and Kanishka's casket shows that he patronized it³. But it appears

¹ See Takakura in *J.P.T.S.* 1905 pp. 67 ff. For the Sarvāstivādin Canon, see my chapter on the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

² See above, vol. I, p. 202. For an account of the doctrines see also Vaalief 245 ff. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 180 ff.

Its connection with Gandhara and Kashmir is plainly indicated in its own scriptures. See Przyluski's article on "Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Māhāvastivādins," *J.A.* 1914 II pp. 493 ff. This Vinaya must have received considerable additions as time went on and in its present form is posterior to Kanishka.

to have been hardly known in Ceylon or Southern India. It was the principal northern form of Hinayanism, just as the Theravâda was the southern form. I-Ching however says that it prevailed in the Malay Archipelago.

Its doctrines, so far as known, were Hinayanist but it was distinguished from cognate schools by holding that the external world can be said to exist and is not merely a continual process of becoming. It had its own version of the Abhidharma and of the Vinaya. In the time of Fa-Hsien the latter was still preserved orally and was not written. The adherents of this school were also called *Vaibhâshikas*, and *Vibhâshâ* was a name given to their exegetical literature.

But the association of the *Sarvâstivâdins* with Mahayanists is clear from the council of Kanishka onwards. Many eminent Buddhists began by being *Sarvâstivâdins* and became Mahayanists, their earlier belief being regarded as preliminary rather than erroneous. Hsuan Chuang translated the *Sarvâstivâdin* scriptures in his old age and I-Ching belonged to the *Mûla-sarvâstivâdin* school¹, yet both authors write as if they were devout Mahayanists. The Tibetan Church is generally regarded as an extreme form of Mahayanism but its Vinaya is that of the *Sarvâstivâdins*.

Though the *Sarvâstivâdins* can hardly have accepted idealist metaphysics, yet the evidence of art and their own version of the Vinaya make it probable that they tolerated a moderate amount of mythology, and the Mahayanists, who like all philosophers were obliged to admit the provisional validity of the external world, may also have admitted their analysis of the same as provisionally valid. The strength of the Hinayanist schools lay in the Vinaya. The Mahayanists showed a tendency to replace it by legends and vague if noble aspirations. But a code of discipline was necessary for large monasteries and the code of the *Sarvâstivâdins* enjoyed general esteem in Central Asia and China.

Three stages in the history of Indian Buddhism are marked by the names of *Âsvaghosha*, *Nâgârjuna* and the two brothers

¹ The distinction between *Sarvâstivâdin* and *Mûla-sarvâstivâdin* is not clear to me. I can only suggest that when a section of the school accepted the *Mahāvibhâshâ* and were known as *Vaibhâshikas* others who approved of the school chiefly on account of its excellent Vinaya called themselves Primitive *Sarvâstivâdins*.

Asanga and Vasubandhu It would be easier to give a precise description of its development if we were sure which of the works ascribed to these worthies are authentic but it seems that Āśvaghosha represents an ornate and transitional phase of the older schools leading to Mahayanism whereas Nāgārjuna is connected with the Prajñā pāramitā and the nihilistic philosophy described in the preceding chapter Asanga was the founder of the later and more scholastic system called Yogācāra and is also associated with a series of revelations said to have been made by Maitreya

As mentioned above tradition makes Āśvaghosha¹ one of the most brilliant among Sanskrit writers live at the court of Kanishka² and according to some accounts he was given to the Kushans as part of a war indemnity The tradition³ is confirmed by the style and contents of his poems and it has been noted by Foucher that his treatment of legends is in remarkable accord with their artistic presentment in the Gandharan sculptures. Also fragmentary manuscripts of his dramas discovered in Central Asia appear to date from the Kushan epoch Āśvaghosha's rank as a poet depends chiefly on his *Buddhacarita* or life of the Buddha up to the time of his enlightenment It is the earliest example of a Kāvya usually translated as artificial epic but here literary skill is subservient to the theme and does not as too often in later works overwhelm it The Buddha is its hero as Rāma of the Rāmāyana and it sings the events of his earlier life in a fine flow of elaborate but impassioned language Another of his poems⁴ discovered only a few years ago treats of the conversion of Nanda the Buddha's half brother

¹ See Syriain Lévi, *J.A.* 1908, xii. 57 ff. and Winternitz, *Ges. Ind. Lit.* ii. i. pp. 201 ff.

² The only reason for doubting it is that two stories (Nos. 14 and 31) in the *Sūtrāla-kāra* (which appears to be a genuine work) refer to Kanishka as if he had reigned in the past. This may be a poetic artifice or it may be that the stories are interpolations. See for the traditions Watters on *Fān Ch'ang* ii. 103-4 and T. Watters in *J.R.A.S.* 1906, p. 53 who quotes the Chinese Samyukta ratna piṭaka sūtra and the Record of Indian Patriarchs. The Chinese list of Patriarchs is compatible with the view that Āśvaghosha was alive about 125 A.D. for he was the twelfth Patriarch and Bodhiśatva the twenty-eighth visited China in 520. This gives about 400 years for sixteen Patriarchs, which is possible, for these worthies were long-lived. But the list has little authority.

The traditions are conveniently collected in the introduction to Teitaro Suzuki's translation of *The Awakening of Faith*.

⁴ The *Bāṇaśatana Kāvya*.

Various other works are ascribed to Āśvaghosha and for the history of Buddhism it is of great interest to decide whether he was really the author of *The Awakening of Faith*. This skilful exposition of a difficult theme is worthy of the writer of the *Buddhacarita* but other reasons make his authorship doubtful, for the theology of the work may be described as the full-blown flower of Mahayanism untainted by Tantrism. It includes the doctrines of Bhūta-tathatā, Ālayavijñāna, Tathāgatagarbha and the three bodies of Buddha. It would be dangerous to say that these ideas did not exist in the time of Kanishka, but what is known of the development of doctrine leads us to expect their full expression not then but a century or two later and other circumstances raise suspicions as to Āśvaghosha's authorship. His undoubted works were translated into Chinese about 400 A.D. but *The Awakening of Faith* a century and a half later¹. Yet if this concise and authoritative compendium had existed in 400, it is strange that the earlier translators neglected it. It is also stated that an old Chinese catalogue of the Tripitaka does not name Āśvaghosha as the author².

The undoubted works of Āśvaghosha treat the Buddha with ornate but grave rhetoric as the hero of an epic. His progress is attended by miracles such as Indian taste demands, but they hardly exceed the marvels recounted in the Pāli scriptures and there is no sign that the hero is identified, as in the *Ramayana* of Tulsī Das or the Gospel according to St John, with the divine spirit. The poet clearly feels personal devotion to a Saviour. He dwells on the duty of teaching others and not selfishly seeking one's own salvation, but he does not formulate dogmas.

The name most definitely connected with the early promulgation of Mahayanism is Nāgārjuna³. A preponderance of

¹ See Nanjio, Nos 1182, 1351, 1250, 1299. It is noticeable that the translator Paramārtha shows a special interest in the life and works of Asanga and Vasubandhu.

² See Winternitz, *Ges. Ind. Lit.* II 1 p. 211. It is also noticeable that *The Awakening of Faith* appears to quote the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* which is not generally regarded as an early Mahayanist work.

³ Nāgārjuna cannot have been the founder of the Mahayana for in his *Mahā prajñā pāramitā śāstra* (Nanjio, 1169, translation by Kumārajīva) he cites *inter alia* the Lotus, the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, and a work called *Mahāyāna śāstra*. See *B E F E O* 1911, p. 453. For Nāgārjuna see especially Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, pp. 29 ff. and the bibliography given in the notes *Jour. Budd. Text Soc.* v part iv pp. 7 ff. Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, pp. 200 ff. Tāranatha, chap. xv and Winternitz, *Ges. Ind. Lit.* II 1 pp. 250 ff.

Chinese tradition makes him the second patriarch after Āśvaghoṣa¹ and this agrees with the Kashmir chronicle which implies that he lived soon after Kanishka². He probably flourished in the latter half of the second century. But his biographies extant in Chinese and Tibetan are almost wholly mythical even crediting him with a life of several centuries and the most that can be hoped is to extract a few grains of history from them. He is said to have been by birth a Brahman of Vidarbha (Berar) and to have had as teacher a Śādra named Saraba or Rāhulābbadra. When the legend states that he visited the Nāgas in the depths of the sea and obtained books from them it seems to admit that he preached new doctrines. It is noticeable that he is represented not only as a philosopher but as a great magician, builder, physician and maker of images.

Many works are attributed to him but they have not the same authenticity as the poems of Āśvaghoṣa. Some schools make him the author of the Prajñā pāramitā but it is more usually regarded as a revelation. The commentary on it known as Mahā prajñā pāramitā-śāstra is generally accepted as his work. A consensus of tradition makes him the author of the Mādhyamika³ aphorisms of which some account has been given above. It is the principal authority of its school and is provided with a commentary attributed to the author himself and with a later one by Candrakīrti⁴. There is also ascribed to him a work called the Suhṛllekha or friendly letter, a compendium of Buddhist doctrines addressed to an Indian king⁵. This work

¹ He is omitted from the list of Buddhābhadra, giving the succession according to the Sarvāstivādins, to which school he did not belong. I-Ching claims him with Āśvaghoṣa and Aryadeva as belonging to the early period.

² Rājatarānginī I. 173-177.

³ Edited in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* by De la Vallée Poussin and (in part) in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Soc.* See too Walkner, *Die Mittlere Lehre des Nāgārjuna nach der Tibetischen Version überliefert*, 1911; *nach der Chinesischen Version überliefert*, 1912.

The ascription of these works to Nāgārjuna is probably correct for they were translated by Kumārajīva who was sufficiently near him in date to be in touch with good tradition.

⁵ The name of this king, variously given as Udayana, Jetaka and Śātavāhana, has not been identified with certainty from the various transcriptions and translations in the Chinese and Tibetan versions. See *J. Pal. Text Soc.* for 1880 and I-Ching, *Records of the Buddhist Religion* (trans. Takakura) pp. 155 ff. The Āndhra kings who reigned from about 240 B.C. to 225 A.D. all claimed to belong to the Śātavāhan dynasty. The stupa of Amarāvati in the Āndhra territory is surrounded by a stone railing ascribed to the period 100-200 A.D. and Nāgārjuna may have addressed a pious king living about that time.

is old for it was translated into Chinese in 434 A D and is a homily for laymen. It says nothing of the Mādhyamika philosophy and most of it deals with the need of good conduct and the terrors of future punishment, quite in the manner of the Hinayana. But it also commends the use of images and incense in worship, it mentions Avalokita and Amitâbha and it holds up the ideal of attaining Buddhahood. Nâgârjuna's authorship is not beyond dispute but these ideas may well represent a type of popular Buddhism slightly posterior to Âśvaghosha¹

In most lists of patriarchs Nâgârjuna is followed by Deva, also called Âryadeva, Kânadeva or Nîlanetra. I-Ching mentions him among the older teachers and a commentary on his principal work, the Śataśâstra, is attributed to Vasubandhu². Little is known of his special teaching but he is regarded as an important doctor and his pupil Dharmatrâta is also important if not as an author at least as a compiler, for Sanskrit collections of verses corresponding to the Pali Dhammapada are ascribed to him. Âryadeva was a native of southern India³.

The next epoch in the history of Buddhism is marked by the names of Asanga and Vasubandhu. The interval between them and Deva produced no teacher of importance, but Kumâralabdha, the founder of the Sautrântika school and perhaps identical with Kumârata the eighteenth Patriarch of the Chinese lists, may be mentioned. Hsuan Chuang says⁴ that he was carried off in captivity by a king who reigned somewhere in the east of the Pamirs and that he, Âśvaghosha, Nâgârjuna and Deva were styled the four shining suns.

Asanga and Vasubandhu were brothers, sons of a Brahman who lived at Peshawar. They were both converted from the Sarvâstivâdin school to Mahayanism, but the third brother

¹ For other works attributed to Nâgârjuna see Nanjio, Nos 1169, 1179, 1180, 1186 and Walleser's introduction to *Mittlere Lehre nach der Chinesischen Version*. The Dharmasangraha, a Sanskrit theological glossary, is also attributed to Nâgârjuna as well as the tantric work Pancakrama. But it is not likely that the latter dates from his epoch.

² Nanjio, No 1188.

³ The very confused legends about him suggest a comparison with the Dravidian legend of a devotee who tore out one of his eyes and offered it to Śiva. See Grunwedel, *Mythologie*, p 34 and notes. Polemics against various Hinayanist sects are ascribed to him. See Nanjio, Nos 1259, 1260.

⁴ Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, II p 286. Hsuan Chuang does not say that the four were contemporary but that in the time of Kumâralabdha they were called the four Suns.

Vinncivatsa never changed his convictions. Tradition connects their career with Ayodhvā as well as with Peshawar and Vasubandhu enjoyed the confidence of the reigning monarch who was probably Candragupta I. This identification depends on the hypothesis that Vasubandhu lived from about 280 to 300 A.D. which as already mentioned seems to me to have been proved by M. Péri¹. The earlier Gupta kings though not Buddhists were tolerant as is shown by the fact that the king of Ceylon² was allowed to erect a magnificent monastery at Nālanda in the reign of Samudragupta (c. 330-375 A.D.).

Asanga founded the school known as Yogācāra and many authorities ascribe to him the introduction of magical practices and Tantrism. But though he is a considerable figure in the history of Buddhism I doubt if his importance or culpability is so great as this. For if tradition can be trusted earlier teachers especially Nāgārjuna dealt in spells and invocations and the works of Asanga³ known to us are characterized by a somewhat scholastic piety and are chiefly occupied in defining and describing the various stages in the spiritual development of a Bodhisattva. It is true that he admits the use of magical formulae⁴ as an aid in this evolution but they form only a slight part of his system and it does not appear that the Chen ven or Shugon sect of the Far East (the Sanskrit Mantrayāna) traced its lineage back to him.

Our estimate of his position in the history of Buddhism must depend on our opinion as to the authorship of *The Awakening of Faith*. If this treatise was composed by Āsvaghosha then doctrines respecting the three bodies of Buddha, the Tathāgata garbha and the Ālaya vijñāna were not only known but scientifically formulated considerably before Asanga. The conclusion cannot be rejected as absurd—for Āsvaghosha might speak differently in poems and in philosophical treatises—but

¹ For Asanga and Vasubandhu see Péri in *D.E.F.E.O.* 1911 pp. 339-390. Vincent Smith in *Early History of India* third edition, pp. 325-334. Winternitz, *Gen. Ind. Lit.* II. 1, p. 256. Watters, *Yuan Ching* I pp. 10 355-359. Taranātha, chap. XXII. Grünwedel *Mythologie* p. 35.

² Meghavarmān. See V. Smith, *l.c.* 287.

³ Two have been proved in Sanskrit: the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra (Ed. v. Traub, E. Lévi, 1907-1911) and the Bodhisattva bhūmi (English summary in *Museon*, 1905-6). A brief analysis of the literature of the Yogācāra school according to Tibetan authorities is given by Stecherbatakol in *Museon*, 1905 pp. 144-155.

Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra XVIII. 71-72. The ominous word *maññava* also occurs in this work XVIII. 46.

it is surprising, and it is probable that the treatise is not his. If so, Asanga may have been the first to elaborate systematically (though not to originate) the idea that thought is the one and only reality. Nāgārjuna's nihilism was probably the older theory. It sounds late and elaborate but still it follows easily if the dialectic of Gotama is applied uncompromisingly not only to our mental processes but to the external world. Yet even in India the result was felt to be fantastic and sophistical and it is not surprising if after the lapse of a few generations a new system of idealism became fashionable which, although none too intelligible, was abstruse rather than paradoxical.

Asanga was alleged to have received revelations from Maitreya and five of his works are attributed to this Bodhisattva who enjoyed considerable honour at this period. It may be that the veneration for the Buddha of the future, the Messiah who would reign over his saints in a pure land, owed something to Persian influence which was strong in India during the decadence of the Kushans¹. Both Mithraism and Manichæism classified their adepts in various ranks, and the Yogâcâra doctors who delight in grading the progress of the Bodhisattva may have borrowed something from them². Asanga's doctrine of defilement (kleśa) and purification may also owe something to Mani, as suggested by S. Lévi.

In spite of his literary merits Asanga remains a doctor rather than a saint or poet³. His speculations have little to do with either Gotama or Amitâbha and he was thus not in living touch with either the old or new schools. His brother Vasubandhu had perhaps a greater position. He is reckoned as the twentieth Patriarch and Tibetan tradition connects him with the worship of Amitâbha⁴.

Paramârtha's life of Vasubandhu represents him as having frequented the court of Vikramâditya (to be identified with Candragupta I), who at first favoured the Sâṅkhya philosophy

¹ Vincent Smith, *l.c.* p. 275.

² But there are of course abundant Indian precedents, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist, for describing various degrees of sanctity or knowledge.

³ The wooden statues of Asanga and Vasubandhu preserved in the Kōfukaji at Nara are masterpieces of art but can hardly claim to be other than works of imagination. They date from about 800 A.D. See for an excellent reproduction Tajima's *Select Relics*, II x.

⁴ See Eitel and Grünwedel, but I do not know in what texts this tradition is found. It is remarkable that Paramârtha's life (*T'oung Pao*, 1904, pp. 269-296) does not say either that he was twentieth patriarch or that he worshipped Amida.

but accorded some patronage to Buddhism. During this period Vasubandhu was a Sarvāstivādin but of liberal views¹ and while in this phase wrote the *Abhidharma kosa*, a general exposition of the *Abhidharma* mainly according to the views of the *Vaiśhāṣikās* but not without criticism. This celebrated work is not well known in Europe² but is still a text book amongst Japanese Buddhist students. It gained the esteem of all schools and we are given to understand that it presupposed the philosophy of the *Vibhūṣā* and of the *Jñāna prasthāna*. According to *Paramārtha* the original work consisted of 600 aphorisms in verse which were sent by the author to the monks of Kashmir. They approved of the composition but as the aphorisms were concise asked for fuller explanations. Vasubandhu then expanded his verses into a prose commentary but meanwhile his views had undergone a change and when he disapproved of any *Vaiśhāṣika* doctrine he criticized it. This enlarged edition by no means pleased the brethren of Kashmir and called forth polemics. He also wrote a controversial work against the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy.

Late in life Vasubandhu moved by the entreaties of his brother Asaṅga became a devout Mahayanist and wrote in his old age Mahayanist treatises and commentaries³.

¹ On receiving a large donation he built three monasteries, one for Hinayanists, one for Mahayanists and one for nuns.

The work consists of 600 verses (*Kārikā*) with a lengthy prose commentary (*Bhāṣya*) by the author. The Sanskrit original is lost but translations have been published in Chinese (Nanjio, nos. 1767-1269, 1770) and Tibetan (see Cordier, *Cat. d. Fonds tibétain de la Bib. Nat.* 1914 pp. 391-499). But the commentary on the *Bhāṣya* called *Abhidharma kosa vyākhyā*, or *Sphuṭārtha* by Yaśomitra has been preserved in Sanskrit in Nepal and frequently cites the verses as well as the *Bhāṣya* in the original Sanskrit. A number of European savants are at present occupied with this literature and Sir Denison Ross (to whom I am indebted for much information) contemplates the publication of an Uighur text of Book I found in Central Asia. At present (1920), so far as I know the only portion of the *Abhidharma kosa* in print is De la Vallée Poussin's edition and translation of Book III, containing the Tibetan and Sanskrit to it but not the Chinese (De la Vallée Poussin—*Vasubandhu et Yaśomitra* London, 1914-18). This chapter deals with such topics as the structure of the universe, the manner and place of rebirth, the chain of causation, the geography of the world, the duration and characteristics of Kalpas, and the appearance of Buddhas and Cakravartins.

See Nanjio, pp. 371-2, for a list of his works translated into Chinese. Italian Chuang's account differs from the above (which is taken from *Paramārtha*) in details. He also tells a curious story that Vasubandhu promised to appear to his friends after death and ultimately did so, though he forgot his promise until people began to say he had gone to hell.

CHAPTER XXIII

INDIAN BUDDHISM AS SEEN BY THE CHINESE PILGRIMS

ABOUT the time of Vasubandhu there existed four schools of Indian Buddhism called Vaibhâshika, Sautrântika, Mâdhyamika and Yoga or Yogâcâra¹ They were specially concerned with philosophy and apparently cut across the older division into eighteen sects, which at this period seem to have differed mainly on points of discipline Though not of great practical importance, they long continued to play a certain part in controversial works both Buddhist and Brahmanic The first two which were the older seem to have belonged to the Hinayana and the other two even more definitely to the Mahayana I-Ching² is quite clear as to this "There are but two kinds of the so-called Mahayana" he says, "first the Mâdhyamika, second the Yoga . These two systems are perfectly in accordance with the noble doctrine Can we say which of the two is right? Both equally conform to truth and lead us to Nirvana" and so on But he does not say that the other two systems are also aspects of the truth This is the more remarkable because he himself followed the Mûla-sarvâstivâdins Apparently Sarvâstivâdin and Vaibhâshika were different names for the same school, the latter being applied to them because they identified themselves with the commentary (Vibhâshâ) already mentioned whereas the former and older designation came to be used chiefly with reference to their disciplinary rules Also there were two groups of Sarvâstivâdins, those of Gandhara and those of Kashmir The name of Vaibhâshika was applied chiefly to the latter who, if we may find a kernel of truth in legends which are certainly exaggerated, endeavoured to make Kashmir a holy land with a monopoly of the pure doctrine Vasubandhu and Asanga appear to have broken up this isolation for they first preached

¹ See Vasilef, *Le Bouddhisme*, Troisième supplément, pp 262 ff Köppen, *Rel des Buddha*, I 151 Takakusu in *J Pal Text Society*, 1905, pp 67-146

² *Records*, translated by Takakusu, p 15

the Vaiśhāṣika doctrines in a liberal and eclectic form outside Kashmir and then by a natural transition and development went over to the Mahayana. But the Vaiśhāṣikas did not disappear and were in existence even in the fourteenth century.¹ Their chief tenet was the real existence of external objects. In matters of doctrine they regarded their own Abhidharma as the highest authority.² They also hold that Gotama had an ordinary human body and passed first into a preliminary form of Nirvana when he attained Buddhahood and secondly into complete Nirvana at his death. He was superhuman only in the sense that he had intuitive knowledge and no need to learn. Their contempt for sutras may have been due to the fact that many of them discountenance the Vaiśhāṣika views and also to a knowledge that new ones were continually being composed.

I-Ching who ends his work by asserting that all his statements are according to the *Ārya māla sarvaśivāda nūkāya* and no other gives an interesting summary of doctrine.

Again I say the most important are only one or two out of eighty thousand doctrines of the Buddha. one should conform to the worldly path but inwardly strive to secure true wisdom. Now what is the worldly path? It is obeying prohibitive laws and avoiding any crime. What is the true wisdom? *It is to obliterate the distinction between subject and object to follow the excellent truth and to free oneself from worldly attachments to do away with the trammels of the chain of causality further to obtain merit by accumulating good works and finally to realize the excellent meaning of perfect reality.*

Such a statement enables us to understand the remark which he makes elsewhere that the same school may belong to the Hinayana and Mahayana in different places for whatever may be meant by wisdom which aims at obliterating the difference between subject and object it is clearly not out of sympathy with Yogācāra doctrines. In another place where he describes the curriculum followed by monks he says that they learn the Yogācārya-śāstra first and then eight compositions of Asanga and Vasubandhu. Among the works prescribed for logic is the Nyāyadvāra-śāstra attributed to Nāgārjuna. The monk

¹ They are mentioned in the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*.

Kern (*Indian Buddhism*, p. 176) says they rejected the authority of the Sūtras altogether but gives no reference.

should learn not only the Abhidharma of the Sarvâstivâdins but also the Âgamas, equivalent to the Sûtra-piṭaka. So the study of the sūtras and the works of Asanga and Vasubandhu is approved by a Sarvâstivâdin.

The Sautrântikas¹, though accounted Hīnayanists, mark a step in the direction of the Mahayana. The founder of the school was Kumâralabdha, mentioned above. In their estimation of scripture they reversed the views of the Vaibhâshikas, for they rejected the Abhidharma and accepted only the sūtras, arguing that the Abhidharma was practically an extract from them. As literary criticism this is correct, if it means that the more ancient sūtras are older than the oldest Abhidharma books. But the indiscriminate acceptance of sūtras led to a creed in which the supernatural played a larger part. The Sautrântikas not only ascribed superhuman powers to the Buddha, but believed in the doctrine of three bodies. In philosophy, though they were realists, they held that external objects are not perceived directly but that their existence is inferred².

Something has already been said of the two other schools, both of which denied the reality of the external world. The differences between them were concerned with metaphysics rather than theology and led to no popular controversies.

Up to this point the history of Indian Buddhism has proved singularly nebulous. The most important dates are a matter of argument, the chief personages half mythical. But when the records of the Chinese pilgrims commence we are in touch with something more solid. They record dates and facts, though we must regret that they only repeat what they heard and make no attempt to criticize Indian traditions or even to weave them into a connected chronicle.

Fa-Hsien, the first of these interesting men, left China in 399 and resided in India from 405 to 411, spending three years at Pataliputra and two at Tamralipti. He visited the Panjab, Hindustan and Bengal and his narrative leaves the impression that all these were in the main Buddhist countries of the Deccan which he did not visit he heard that its inhabitants were barbarous and not Buddhists, though it contained some

¹ See Vasilief, pp. 301 ff. and various notices in Hsüan Chuang and Watters. Also de la Vallée Poussin's article in E. R. E.

² Hsuan Chuang informs us that when he was in Śrughna he studied the Vibhâshâ of the Sautrântikas, but the precise significance of this term is not plain.

Buddhist shrines Of the Middle Kingdom (which according to his reckoning begins with Muttra) he says that the people are free and happy and neither kill any living creature nor drink intoxicating liquor¹ He does not hint at persecution though he once or twice mentions that the Brahmans were jealous of the Buddhists Neither does he indicate that any strong animosity prevailed between Maha and Hinayanists But the two parties were distinct and he notes which prevailed in each locality He left China by land and found the Hinayana prevalent at Shen shen and Wu i (apparently localities not far from Loh Nor) but the Mahayana at Khotan. Nearer India in countries apparently corresponding to parts of Kashmir and Gilgit the monks were numerous and all Hinayanist The same was the case in Udyana and in Gandhara the Hinayanists were still in the majority In the Panjab both schools were prevalent but the Hinayana evidently strong In the district of Mattra the Law was still more flourishing monasteries and topes were numerous and ample alms were given to the monks He states that the professors of the Abhidharma and Vinaya made offerings to those works and the Mahayanists to the book Prajñā pāramitā as well as to Manjuśrī and Kwan shih yin He found the country in which are the sacred sites of Śrāvastī Kapilavastu and Kuanārā sparsely inhabited and desolate but this seems to have been due to general causes not specially to the decay of religion. He mentions that ninety-six² varieties of erroneous views are found among the Buddhists which points to the existence of numerous but not acutely hostile sects and says that there still existed apparently in Kośala followers of Devadatta who recognized three previous Buddhas but not Śākyamuni. He visited the birth places of these three Buddhas which contained topes erected in their honour

He found Magadha prosperous and pious Of its capital Patna he says 'by the side of the topes of Asoka has been made a Mahayana monastery very grand and beautiful there is also a Hinayana one the two together containing 600 or 700 monks It is probable that this was typical of the religious condition of Magadha and Bengal. Both schools existed but the

¹ Fa Hsien's *Treasures* chap. xvi.

² This figure is probably deduced from some artificial calculation of possible heresies like the 62 wrong views enumerated in the Brahma-Jala sūtra.

Mahayana was the more flourishing. Many of the old sites, such as Rājagṛha and Gaya, were deserted but there were new towns near them and Bodh Gaya was a place of pilgrimage with three monasteries. In the district of Tamralipti (Tamluk) on the coast of Bengal were 22 monasteries. As his principal object was to obtain copies of the Vinaya, he stayed three years in Patna seeking and copying manuscripts. In this he found some difficulty, for the various schools of the Vinaya, which he says were divided by trivial differences only, handed down their respective versions orally. He found in the Mahayanist monastery one manuscript of the Mahāsāṅghika rules and considered it the most complete, but also took down the Sarvāstivādin rules.

After the death of Vasubandhu few names of even moderate magnitude stand out in the history of Indian Buddhism. The changes which occurred were great but gradual and due not to the initiative of innovators but to the assimilative power of Hinduism and to the attractions of magical and emotional rites. But this tendency, though it doubtless existed, did not become conspicuous until about 700 A.D. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and the literature which has been preserved suggest that in the intervening centuries the monks were chiefly occupied with scholastic and exegetical work. The most distinguished successors of Asanga were logicians, among whom Dinnāga was pre-eminent. Sthiramati¹ and Gunamati appear to have belonged to the same school and perhaps Bhavaviveka² too. The statements as to his date are inconsistent but the interesting fact is recorded that he utilized the terminology of the Sāṅkhya for the purposes of the Mahayana.

Throughout the middle ages the study of logic was pursued but Buddhists and Jains rather than by Brahmans³. Vasubandhu composed some treatises dealing exclusively with logic but it was his disciple Dinnāga who separated it definitely from philosophy and theology. As in idealist philosophy, so in pure logic there was a parallel movement in the Buddhist and Brahmanic schools, but if we may trust the statements of

¹ He must have lived in the fourth century as one of his works (Nanjio, 1243) was translated between 397 and 439.

² Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, II 221-224. Nanjio, 1237. The works of Gunamati also are said to show a deep knowledge of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

³ For the history of logic in India, see Vidyābhūṣana's interesting work *Mediæval School of Indian Logic*, 1909. But I cannot accept all his dates.

Vācaspati-miśra (about 1100 A.D.) Dīnāga interpreted the aphorisms of the Nyāya philosophy in a heterodox or Buddhist sense. This traces the beginnings of Indian logic to a Brahmanic source but subsequently it flourished greatly in the hands of Buddhists especially Dīnāga and Dharmakīrti. The former appears to have been a native of Conjevaram and a contemporary of Kālidāsa. Both the logician and the poet were probably alive in the reign of Kumāragupta (413-455). Dīnāga spent much time in Nālanda and though the Sanskrit originals of his works are lost the Tibetan translations¹ are preserved.

The Buddhist schools of logic continued for many centuries. One flourished in Kashmir and another founded by Candragomin in Bengal. Both lasted almost until the Mohammedan conquest of the two countries.

From about 470 to 530 A.D. northern India groaned under the tyranny of the Huns. Their King Mihiragula is represented as a determined enemy of Buddhism and a systematic destroyer of monasteries. He is said to have been a worshipper of Śiva but his fury was probably inspired less by religious animosity than by love of pillage and slaughter.

About 530 A.D. he was defeated by a coalition of Indian princes and died ten years later amid storms and portents which were believed to signify the descent of his wicked soul into hell. It must have been about this time that Bodhidharma left India for he arrived in Canton about 520. According to the Chinese he was the son of a king of a country called Hsiang-Chih in southern India² and the twenty-eighth patriarch and he became an important figure in the religion and art of the Far East. But no allusion to him or to any of the Patriarchs after Vasubandhu has been found in Indian literature nor in the works of Hsüan Chuang and I Ching. The inference is that he was of no importance in India and that his reputation in China was not great before the eighth century also that the Chinese lists of patriarchs do not represent the traditions of northern India.

¹ Dīnāga's principal works are the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and the *Nyāya-praveśa*. Hsüan Chuang calls him Ch'en na. See Waiters, II, 709. See Stcherbatskoi in *Muséon* 1904 pp. 129-171 for Dīnāga's influence on the development of the Naiyāvika and V. Vāchik schools.

² His personal name is said to have been P'u ti to-lo and his surname Ch'a-ti li. The latter is probably a corruption of Kahatriya. Hsiang-Chih possibly *mu* is a name beginning with Gandha, but I can neither find nor suggest any identification.

Religious feeling often ran high in southern India. Buddhists, Jains and Hindus engaged in violent disputes, and persecution was more frequent than in the north. It is easy to suppose that Bodhidharma being the head of some heretical sect had to fly and followed the example of many monks in going to China. But if so, no record of his school is forthcoming from his native land, though the possibility that he was more than an individual thinker and represented some movement unknown to us cannot be denied. We might suppose too that since Nâgârjuna and Âryadeva were southerners, their peculiar doctrines were coloured by Dravidian ideas. But our available documents indicate that the Buddhism of southern India was almost entirely Hinayanist, analogous to that of Ceylon and not very sympathetic to the Tamils.

The pilgrims Sung-Yun and Hui-Shêng¹ visited Udyana and Gandhara during the time of the Hun domination (518-521). They found the king of the former a pious Buddhist but the latter was governed by an Ephthalite chieftain, perhaps Mihiragula himself, who was a worshipper of demons. Of the Yetha or Ephthalites they make the general observation that "their rules of politeness are very defective." But they also say that the population of Gandhara had a great respect for Buddhism and as they took back to China 170 volumes, "all standard works belonging to the Great Vehicle," the Ephthalite persecution cannot have destroyed the faith in north-western India. But the evil days of decay were beginning. Henceforward we have no more pictures of untroubled piety and prosperity. At best Buddhism receives royal patronage in company with other religions, sectarian conflicts increase and sometimes we hear of persecution. About 600 A.D. a king of Central Bengal named Sasânka who worshipped Śiva attempted to extirpate Buddhism in his dominions and destroyed the Bo tree at Bodh Gaya². On the other hand we hear of the pious Pûrnavarman, king of Magadha, who made amends for these sacrileges, and of Śîlāditya, king of the country called Mo-lo-po by the Chinese, who was so careful of animal life, that he even strained the water drunk by his horses and elephants, lest they should consume minute insects.

¹ See *B E F E O* 1903, pp. 379 ff.

² His evil deeds are several times mentioned by Hsuan Chuang. It required a miracle to restore the Bo tree.

We know more of Indian Buddhism in the seventh century than in the periods which precede or follow it. The epoch was marked by the reign of the great king or rather emperor Harsha Vardhana (606-648 A.D.), and the works written by Bāṇa Bhartṛhari and others who frequented his court have come down to us. Also we are fortunate in possessing the copious narrative of Hsüan Chuang the greatest of the Chinese pilgrims who spent sixteen years (629-645) in India as well as the work known as the Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago composed by I Ching who travelled in those countries from 671 to 695. I Ching also wrote the lives of sixty Chinese pilgrims who visited India during the seventh century and probably there were many others of whom we have no record.

The reign of Harsha is thus illustrated by a number of contemporary dateable works unusual in India. The king himself wrote some Buddhist hymns¹ and three dramas are ascribed to him but were probably composed by some of the literary men whom he patronized. For all that the religious ideas which they contain must have had his approval. The *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* are secular pieces and so far as they have any religious atmosphere it is Brahmanic but the *Nāgānanda* is a Buddhist religious drama which opens with an invocation of the Buddha and has a Jātaka story for its plot.² Bāṇa was himself a devout Brahman but his historical romance *Harshacarita* and his novel called *Kādambarī* both describe a mixture of religions founded on observation of contemporary life. In an interesting passage³ he recounts the king's visit to a Buddhist ascetic. The influence of the holy man causes the more intelligent animals in his neighbourhood such as parrots to devote themselves to Buddhist lore but he is surrounded by devotees of the most diverse sects. Jains, Bhāgavatas, Pāncarātras, Lokāyatikas with followers of Kapila, Kanāda and many

¹ See English men, *Harshavarṇana*, Appendix III.

² The appearance of Gaurī as a *deva ex machina* at the end hardly shows that Harsha's Buddhism had a Śaktist tinge but it does show that Buddhists of that period turned naturally to Śivaite mythology.

³ *Harshacarita*, chap. VIII. The parrots were expounding Vāṇabandhu's *Abhidharmakosa*. Bāṇa frequently describes troops of holy men apparently living in harmony but including followers of most diverse sects. See *Kādambarī*, 193 and 294. Harshana. 97

other teachers Mayûra, another literary protégé of Harsha's, was like Bâna a Brahman, and Subandhu, who flourished a little before them, ignores Buddhism in his romance called *Vâsa-vadattâ*. But Bhartrihari, the still popular gnomic poet, was a Buddhist. It is true that he oscillated between the court and the cloister no less than seven times, but this vacillation seems to have been due to the weakness of the flesh, not to any change of convictions. For our purpose the gist of this literature is that Hinduism in many forms, some of them very unorthodox, was becoming the normal religion of India but that there were still many eminent Buddhists and that Buddhism had sufficient prestige to attract Harsha and sufficient life to respond to his patronage.

About 600 A.D. India was exhausted by her struggle with the Huns. After it there remained only a multitude of small states and obscure dynasties, but there was evidently a readiness to accept any form of unifying and tranquillizing rule and for nearly half a century this was provided by Harsha. He conquered northern India from the Panjab to Bengal but failed to subdue the Deccan. Though a great part of his reign was spent in war, learning and education flourished. Hsuan Chuang, who was his honoured guest, gives a good account of his administration but also makes it plain that brigandage prevailed and that travelling was dangerous.

After 643 Harsha, who was growing elderly, devoted much attention to religion and may be said to have become a Buddhist, while allowing himself a certain eclectic freedom. Several creeds were represented among his immediate relatives. Devotion to Siva was traditional in the family: his father had been a zealous worshipper of the Sun and his brother and sister were Buddhists of the Sammitîya sect. Harsha by no means disowned Brahmanic worship, but in his latter years his proclivity to Buddhism became more marked and he endeavoured to emulate the piety of Asoka. He founded rest houses and hospitals, as well as monasteries and thousands of stupas. He prohibited the taking of life and the use of animal food, and of the three periods into which his day was divided two were devoted to religion and one to business. He also exercised a surveillance over the whole Buddhist order and advanced meritorious members.

Hsuan Chuang has left an interesting account of the religious

fêtes and spectacles organized by Harsha. At Kanauj he attended a great assembly during which a solemn procession took place every day. A golden image of Buddha was borne on an elephant and Harsha, dressed as Indra, held a canopy over it while his ally Raja Kumara¹ dressed as Brahmā waved a fly whisk. It was subsequently washed by the king's own hands and in the evening his Majesty, who like Akbar had a taste for religious discussion, listened to the arguments of his Chinese guest. But the royal instructions that no one was to speak against the Master of the Law were so peremptory that even his biographer admits there was no real discussion. These edifying pageants were interrupted by disagreeable incidents which show that Harsha's tolerance had not produced complete harmony. A temporary monastery erected for the fêtes caught fire and a fanatic attempted to stab the king. He confessed under examination that he had been instigated to the crime by Brahmans who were jealous of the favours which the Buddhists received. It was also established that the incendiaries were Brahmans and after the ringleaders had been punished five hundred were exiled. Harsha then proceeded to Allahabad to superintend a quinquennial distribution of alms. It was his custom to let treasure accumulate for five years and then to divide it among holy men and the poor. The proceedings lasted seventy-five days and the concourse which collected to gaze and receive must have resembled the fair still held on the same spot. Buddhists, Brahmans and Jains all partook of the royal bounty and the images of Buddha, Śūrya and Śiva were worshipped on successive days though greater honour was shown to the Buddha. The king gave away everything that he had, even his robes and jewels and finally arrayed in clothes borrowed from his sister rejoiced saying 'all I have has entered into incorruptible and imperishable treasures'. After this adds Hsüan Chuang the king's vassals offered him jewels and robes so that the treasury was replenished. This was the sixth quinquennial distribution which Harsha had held and the last, for he died in 648. He at first favoured the Hinayana but subsequently went over to the Mahayana, being moved in part by the exhortations of Hsüan Chuang.

¹ It is curious that Bān (Harshacarita vii.) says of this prince that from childhood he resolved never to worship anyone but Śiva.

Yet the substance of Hsuan Chuang's account is that though Buddhism was prospering in the Far East it was decaying in India. Against this can be set instances of royal piety like those described, the fame enjoyed by the shrines and schools of Magadha and the conversion of the king of Tibet in 638 A.D. This event was due to Chinese as well as Indian influence, but would hardly have occurred unless in north-eastern India Buddhism had been esteemed the religion of civilization. Still Hsuan Chuang's long catalogue of deserted monasteries¹ has an unmistakable significance. The decay was most pronounced in the north-west and south. In Gandhara there were only a few Buddhists more than a thousand monasteries stood untenanted and the Buddha's sacred bowl had vanished. In Takshaśīla the monasteries were numerous but desolate. In Kashmir the people followed a mixed faith. Only in Udyāna was Buddhism held in high esteem. In Sind the monks were numerous but indolent.

No doubt this desolation was largely due to the depredations of Mihiragula. In the Deccan and the extreme south there was also a special cause, namely the prevalence of Jainism, which somewhat later became the state religion in several kingdoms. In Kalinga, Andhra and the kingdom of the Colas the pilgrim reports that Jains were very numerous but counts Buddhist monasteries only by tens and twenties. In Dravida there were also 10,000 monks of the Sthavira school but in Malakuta among many ruined monasteries only a few were still inhabited and here again Jains were numerous.

For all Central India and Bengal the pilgrim's statistics tell the same tale, namely that though Buddhism was represented both by monasteries and monks, the Deva-temples and unbelievers were also numerous. The most favourable accounts are those given of Kanauj, Ayodhya and Magadha where the sacred sites naturally caused the devout to congregate.

The statistics which he gives as to sects are interesting². The total number of monks amounted to about 183,000. Of these only 32,000 belonged definitely to the Mahayana more

¹ The *Rāṣṭrapālapaniṣchā* (Ed. Finot, pp. ix-xi, 28-33) inveighs against the moral degeneration of the Buddhist clergy. This work was translated into Chinese between 589 and 618, so that demoralisation must have begun in the sixth century.

² See Rhys Davids in *J R A S* 1891, pp. 418 ff.

than 66 000 to the Hinayana and 54 500 studied both systems or at any rate resided in monasteries which tolerated either course of study. Some writers speak as if after our era Mahayanism was predominant in India and the Hinayana banished to its extreme confines such as Ceylon and Kashmir. Yet about A.D. 640 this zealous Mahayanist¹ states that half the monks of India were definitely Hinayanist while less than a fifth had equally definite Mahayanist convictions. The Mahayana laid less stress on monasticism than the Hinayana and therefore its strength may have lain among the laity but even so the admitted strength of the Hinayana is remarkable. Three Hinayanist schools are frequently mentioned the Sthavira, Sarvāstivāda and Sammitiya. The first are the well known Sinhalese sect and were found chiefly in the south (Conjeeveram) and in East Bengal besides the monks of the Sinhalese monastery at Caya. The Sarvāstivādins were found as their history would lead us to expect chiefly in the north and beyond the frontiers of India proper. But both were outnumbered by the Sammitiyas who amounted to nearly 44 000 monks. The chief doctrine² of this sect is said to have been that individuals (puggalo) exist as such in the truest sense. This doctrine was supported by reference to the sutra known as the Burden and the Burden bearer³. It does not assert that there is a permanent and unchangeable soul (attā) but it emphasizes the reality and importance of that personality which all accept as true for practical purposes. It is probable that in practice this belief differed little from the ordinary Brahmanic doctrine of metempsychosis and this may be one reason for the prevalence of the sect.

I-Ching though he does not furnish statistics gives a clear conspectus of Buddhist sects as they existed in his time. He starts from the ancient eighteen sects but divides them into four groups or Nikāyas. (a) The Ārya Mahāsaṅghika nikāya. This comprised seven subdivisions but was apparently the least influential school as it was not predominant anywhere though

¹ Hsüan Chuang was not disposed to underrate the numbers of the Mahayana for he says that the monks of Ceylon were Mahayanists.

² See the beginning of the *Kāśhāyāṭṭha*. The doctrine is formulated in the words *Puggalo upalabbhati saccaṭṭhāparamatṭhenā*, and there follows a discussion between a member of the orthodox school and a Puggalavādin that is one who believes in the existence of a person, soul or entity which transmigrates from this world to another.

³ Sam. Nik. xxii. 221

it coexisted with other schools in most parts. The Lokottaravādins mentioned by Hsuan Chuang as existing at Bamiyan belonged to it. They held that the Buddha was not subject to the laws of nature. (b) *Ārya-Sthavira-nikāya*. This is the school to which our Pali Canon belongs. It was predominant in southern India and Ceylon and was also found in eastern Bengal. (c) The *Ārya-Mūla-sarvāstivāda-nikāya* with four subdivisions. Almost all belonged to this school in northern India and it was flourishing in Magadha. (d) The *Ārya-Sammitīya-nikāya* with four subdivisions flourished in Lāṭa and Sindh. Thus the last three schools were preponderant in southern, northern and western India respectively. All were followed in Magadha, no doubt because the holy places and the University of Nālandā attracted all shades of opinion, and Bengal seems to have been similarly catholic. This is substantially the same as Hsuan Chuang's statement except that I-Ching takes a more favourable view of the position of the Sarvāstivāda, either because it was his own school or because its position had really improved.

It would seem that in the estimation of both pilgrims the Maha- and Hinayana are not schools but modes in which any school can be studied. The *Nikāya*¹ or school appears to have been chiefly, though not exclusively, concerned with the rule of discipline which naturally had more importance for Buddhist monks than it has for European scholars. The observances of each *Nikāya* were laid down in its own recension of the scriptures which was sometimes oral and sometimes in writing. Probably all the eighteen schools had separate Vinayas, and to some extent they had different editions of the other Pitakas, for the Sarvāstivādins had an *Abhidharma* of their own. But there was no objection to combining the study of Sarvāstivādin literature with the reading of treatises by Asanga and Vasu-

¹ This use of *Nikāya* must not be confused with its other use to denote a division of the Sūtra-Pitaka. It means a group or collection and hence can be used to denote either a body of men or a collection of treatises. These *Nikāyas* are also not the same as the four schools (*Vaibhāṣikas*, etc.), mentioned above, which were speculative. Similarly in Europe a Presbyterian may be a Calvinist, but Presbyterianism has reference to Church government and Calvinism to doctrine.

There were in India at this time (1) two vehicles, Maha- and Hinayana, (2) four speculative schools, *Vaibhāṣikas*, etc., (3) four disciplinary schools, *Mūla sarvāstivādins*, etc. These three classes are obviously not mutually exclusive. Thus I Ching approved of (a) the Mahayana, (b) the *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra*, which he did not consider inconsistent and (c) the *Mūla sarvāstivāda*.

bandhu¹ or sutras such as the Lotus which I-Ching's master read once a day for sixty years. I-Ching himself seems to regard the two Vehicles as alternative forms of religion both excellent in their way much as a Catholic theologian might impartially explain the respective advantages of the active and contemplative lives. With resolutions rightly formed he says we should look forward to meeting the coming Buddha Maitreya. If we wish to gain the lesser fruition (of the Hinayana) we may pursue it through the eight grades of sanctification. But if we learn to follow the course of the greater fruition (of the Mahayana) we must try to accomplish our work through long ages².

I-Ching observes that both Vehicles agree in prescribing the same discipline in prohibiting the same offences and enjoining the practice of the noble truths. His views which are substantially those of Hsüan Chuang³ must be those current in the seventh century when the Hinayana was allowing the Mahayana to overgrow it without resistance but the relations of the two creeds are sometimes stated differently. For instance the Angulimālyā sutra⁴ known only in a Tibetan translation states that whereas for the Hinayana such formulae as the four truths and the eightfold path are of cardinal importance the Mahayana does not recognize them and it is undoubtedly true that the Vaipulya sutras frequently ignore the familiar doctrines of early Buddhism and hint that they belong to a rudimentary stage of instruction.

I-Ching makes no mention of persecution but he deploras the decay of the faith. The teaching of the Buddha is becoming less prevalent in the world from day to day' he says. When I compare what I have witnessed in my younger days and what I see to-day in my old age the state is altogether different and we are bearing witness to this and it is hoped we shall be more

¹ I-Ching transl. Takakusu, p. 180.

² Three Asaṅga Kalpas. I-Ching Takakusu's transl. pp. 190-7. He seems to regard the Mahayana as the better way. He quotes Nāgārjuna's allusions to Avalokita and Amitāyus with apparent approval; he tells us how one of his teachers worshipped Amitāyus and strove to prepare himself for Sakḥavati and how the Lotus was the favourite scripture of another. He further tells us that the Mādhyamika and the Yoga systems are both perfectly correct.

Hsüan Chuang speaks of Mahayaṇa belonging to the Sthavira school.

Quoted by Brookhill *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 160 ff.

attentive in future " Though he speaks regretfully of lax or incorrect discipline, he does not complain of the corruption of the faith by Tantrism and magical practices He does however deprecate in an exceedingly curious passage the prevalence of religious suicide¹

Except for progressive decay, the condition of Indian Buddhism as described by the two pilgrims is much the same Meals were supplied to monks in the monasteries and it was no longer usual to beg for food in the streets, since the practice is mentioned by I-Ching as exceptional On Upavasatha days it was the custom for the pious laity to entertain the monks and the meal was sometimes preceded by a religious service performed before an image and accompanied by music I-Ching describes the musical services with devout enthusiasm "The priests perform the ordinary service late in the afternoon or in the evening twilight They come out of the monastery and walk three times round a stupa, offering incense and flowers Then they all kneel down and one of them who sings well begins to chant hymns describing the virtues of the great Teacher and continues to sing ten or twenty ślokas They then return to the place in the monastery where they usually assemble and, when all have sat down, a reciter mounting the lion-seat (which is near the head priest) reads a short sutra Among the scriptures for such an occasion the 'Service in three parts' is often used This is a selection of Āśvaghosha The first part contains ten ślokas of a hymn The second part is a selection from some scripture consisting of the Buddha's words Then there is an additional hymn as the third part of the service, of more than ten ślokas, being prayers that express the wish to bring one's merits to maturity After the singing the assembled Bhikshus exclaim Subhāshita or Sādhu, that is well-said or bravo The reader descends and the Bhikshus in order salute the lion-seat, the seats of Bodhisattvas and Arhats, and the superior of the monastery² "

¹ Chaps xxxviii and xxxix He seems to say that it is right for the laity to make an offering of their bodies by burning but not for Bhikshus The practice is recognized and commended in the Lotus, chap xii, which however is a later addition to the original work

² I Chung, transl Takakusu, pp 153-4 somewhat abridged I Chung (pp 156-7) speaks of Māticheta as the principal hymn writer and does not identify him with Āśvaghosha

I-Ching also tells us of the ceremonial bathing of images and prefaces his description by the remark that the meaning of the Truths is so profound that it is a matter beyond the comprehension of vulgar minds while the ablution of the holy images is practicable for all. Though the Great Teacher has entered Nirvana yet his image exists and we should worship it with zeal as though in his presence. Those who constantly offer incense and flowers to it are enabled to purify their thoughts and those who perpetually bathe his image are enabled to overcome the sins that involve them in darkness¹. It appears to contemplate chiefly the veneration of images of Śākyamuni but figures of Bodhisattvas were also conspicuous features in temples as we know not only from archaeology but from the biography of Hsüan Chuang where it is said that worshippers used to throw flowers and silk scarves at the image of Avalokita and draw auguries from the way they fell.

Monasteries were liberally decorated with statues, carvings and pictures². They often comprised several courts and temples. Hsüan Chuang says that a monastery in Magadha which he calls Ti lo-shi ka had four courts with three storied halls, lofty terraces and a succession of open passages. At the head of the road through the middle gate were three temples with disks on the roof and hung with small bells; the bases were surrounded by balustrades and doors, windows, beams, walls and stairs were ornamented with gilt work in relief. In the three temples were large images representing the Buddha, Tārā and Avalokita.

The great centres of Buddhist learning and monastic life mentioned by both pilgrims were Valabhi or Balabhi in Gujarat and Nalanda. The former was a district rather than a single locality and contained 100 monasteries with 6000 monks of the Sammitiya school. Nalanda was in Magadha not far from Gaya. The date of its foundation is unknown but a great temple (though apparently not the first) was built about 485 A.D.³

¹ I believe the golden image in the Arakan Pagoda at Moulmein is still washed with a ceremonial resembling that described by I-Ching.

I-Ching says that monasteries commonly had a statue of Mahākāśha as a guardian deity.

By the Gupta king, Narasimha Gupta Balāditya. Much information about Nalanda will be found in Satya Chandra Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 145-147. Hsüan Chuang (*Life transl.* Beal, p. 111) says that it was

Fa-Hsien mentions a village called Nala but without indicating that it was a seat of learning. Hence it is probable that the University was not then in existence or at least not celebrated. Hsuan Chuang describes it as containing six monasteries built by various kings and surrounded by an enclosing wall in which there was only one gate. I-Ching writing later says that the establishment owned 200 villages and contained eight halls with more than 3000 monks. In the neighbourhood of the monastery were a hundred sacred spots, several marked by temples and tops. It was a resort for Buddhists from all countries and an educational as well as a religious centre. I-Ching says that students spent two or three years there in learning and disputing after which they went to the king's court in search of a government appointment. Successful merit was rewarded not only by rank but by grants of land. Both pilgrims mention the names of several celebrities connected with Nalanda. But the worthies of the seventh century did not attain to more than scholastic eminence. The most important literary figure of the age is Śāntideva of whose life nothing is known. His writings however prove that the Buddhism of this period was not a corrupt superstition, but could inspire and nourish some of the most beautiful thoughts which the creed has produced.

built 700 years before his time, that is, in the first century B.C. He dwells on the beauty of the buildings, ponds and flowers

CHAPTER XXIV

DECADENCE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

THE theme of this chapter is sad for it is the decadence degradation and ultimate disappearance of Buddhism in India. The other great religions offer no precise parallel to this phenomenon but they also do not offer a parallel to the circumstances of Buddhism at the time when it flourished in its native land. Mohammedanism has been able to maintain itself in comparative isolation up to the present day Moslems and Christians share the same cities rather than the same thoughts especially when (as often) they belong to different races. European Christianity after a few centuries of existence had to contend with no rival of approximately equal strength for the struggle with Mohammedanism was chiefly military and hardly concerned the merits of the faiths. But Buddhism never had a similarly paramount and unchallenged position. It never attempted to extirpate its rivals. It coexisted with a mass of popular superstition which it only gently reprobated and with a powerful hereditary priesthood both intellectual and phant tenacious of their own ideas and yet ready to countenance almost any other ideas as the price of ruling. Neither Islam nor Christianity had such an adversary and both of them and even Judaism resemble Buddhism in having won greater success outside their native lands than in them. Jerusalem is not an altogether satisfactory spectacle to either Christians or Jews¹.

Still all this does not completely explain the disappearance of Buddhism from India. Before attempting to assign reasons we shall do well to review some facts and dates relating to the period of decadence. If we take all India into consideration the period is long but in many indeed in most districts the process of decay was rapid.

In the preceding chapter I have mentioned the accounts of Indian Buddhism which we owe to the Chinese travellers Hsüan Chuang and I-Ching. The latter frankly deploras the decay of

¹ Written before the war

the faith which he had witnessed in his own life (i.e. about 650–700 A.D.) but his travels in India were of relatively small extent and he gives less local information than previous pilgrims. Hsuan Chuang describing India in 629–645 A.D. is unwilling to admit the decay but his truthful narrative lets it be seen. It is only of Bengal and the present United Provinces that he can be said to give a favourable account, and the prosperity of Buddhism there was largely due to the personal influence of Harsha¹. In central and southern India, he tells us of little but deserted monasteries. It is clear that Buddhism was dying out but it is not so clear that it had ever been the real religion of this region. In many parts it did not conquer the population but so to speak built fortresses and left garrisons. It is probable that the Buddhism of Andhra, Kalinga and the south was represented by little more than such outposts. They included Amarâvatî, where portions of the ruins seem assignable to about 150 A.D., and Ajantâ, where some of the cave paintings are thought to be as late as the sixth century. But of neither site can we give any continuous history. In southern India the introduction of Buddhism took place under the auspices of Asoka himself, though his inscriptions have as yet been found only in northern Mysore and not in the Tamil country. The Tamil poems *Manimêgalei* and *Silappadigaram*, especially the former, represent it as prevalent and still preserving much of its ancient simplicity. Even in later times when it had almost completely disappeared from southern India, occasional Buddhist temples were founded. Rajaraja endowed one at Negapatam about 1000 A.D. In 1055 a monastery was erected at Belgamî in Mysore and a Buddhist town named Kalavatî is mentioned as existing in that state in 1533². But in spite of such survivals, even in the sixth century Buddhism could not compete in southern India with either Jainism or Hinduism and there are no traces of its existence in the Deccan after 1150.

For the Konkan, Maharashtra and Gujarat, Hsuan Chuang's statistics are fairly satisfactory. But in all this region the Sammitîya sect which apparently was nearer to Hinduism than the others was the most important. In Ujjain Buddhism was

¹ Even at Kanauj, the scene of Harsha's pious festivities, there were 100 Buddhist monasteries but 200 Deva temples.

² Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 203.

almost extinct but in many of the western states it lingered on perhaps only in isolated monasteries until the twelfth century. Inscriptions found at Kanheri (843 and 851 A.D.), Dambal (1095 A.D.) and in Miraj (1110 A.D.) testify that grants were made to monasteries at these late dates¹. But further north the faith had to endure the violence of strangers. Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 712. Gujarat and the surrounding country were invaded by northern tribes and such invasions were always inimical to the prosperity of monasteries.

This is even more true of the Panjab, the frontier provinces and Kashmir. The older invaders such as the Yüeh-chih had been favourably disposed to Buddhism but those who came later such as the Huns were predaceous barbarians with little religion of any sort. In Hsüan Chuang's time it was only in Udyana that Buddhism could be said to be the religion of the people and the torrent of Mohammedan invasion which swept continuously through these countries during the middle ages overwhelmed all earlier religions and even Hinduism had to yield. In Kashmir Buddhism soon became corrupt and according to the *Rājataranginī*² the monks began to marry as early as the sixth century. King Lalitāditya (733-769) is credited with having built monasteries as well as temples to the Sun but his successors were Śaivites.

Bengal especially western Bengal and Bihar was the strong hold of decadent Buddhism though even here hostile influences were not absent. But about 730 A.D. a pious Buddhist named Gopāla founded the Pāla dynasty and extended his power over Magadha. The Pālas ruled for about 450 years and supplied a long and devout line of defenders of the faith. But to the east of their dominions lay the principality of Kanauj a state of varying size and fortunes and from the eighth century onwards a stronghold of Brahmanic learning.

The revolution in Hinduism which definitely defeated though it did not annihilate Buddhism is generally connected with the names of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (c. 750) and Śaṅkara (c. 800). We know the doctrines of these teachers for many of their works have come down to us but when we enquire what was their political importance or the scope and extent of the

¹ See the note by Bühler in *Journ. Pali Text Soc.* 1890, p. 108.

² *Rājataranginī* III. 1..

movement which they championed we are conscious (as so often) of the extraordinary vagueness of Indian records even when the subject might appeal to religious and philosophic minds¹ Kumârîla is said to have been a Brahman of Bihar who abjured Buddhism for Hinduism and raged with the ardour of a proselyte against his ancient faith Tradition² represents him as instigating King Sudhanvan to exterminate the Buddhists But nothing is known of this king and he cannot have had the extensive empire with which he is credited

Sankara was a Brahman of the south who in a short life found time to write numerous works, to wander over India, to found a monastic order and build four monasteries In doctrine and discipline he was more pliant than Kumârîla and he assimilated many strong points of Buddhism Both these teachers are depicted as the successful heroes of public disputations in which the interest at stake was considerable The vanquished had to become a disciple of the vanquisher or to forfeit his life and, if he was the head of an institution, to surrender its property These accounts, though exaggerated, are probably a florid version of what occurred and we may surmise that the popular faith of the day was generally victorious What violence the rising tide of Hinduism may have wrought, it is hard to say There is no evidence of any general persecution of Buddhism in the sense in which one Christian sect persecuted another in Europe But at a rather later date we hear that Jains were persecuted and tortured by Śaiva princes both in southern India and Gujarat, and if there were any detailed account, epigraphic or literary, of such persecutions in the eighth and ninth centuries, there would be no reason for doubting it But no details are forthcoming Without resorting to massacre, an anti-Buddhist king had in his power many effective methods of hostility He might confiscate or transfer monastic property, or forbid his subjects to support monks Considering the state of Buddhism as represented by Hsuan Chuang and I-Ching it is probable that such measures would suffice to ensure the triumph of the Brahmans in most parts of India

¹ See for the supposed persecution of Buddhism in India, *J P T S* 1896, pp 87-92 and 107-111 and *J R A S* 1898, pp 208-9

² As contained in the Śankara dig vijaya ascribed to Mādhava and the Śankara-vijaya ascribed to Ānandagiri

After the epoch of Śaṅkara the history of Indian Buddhism is confined to the Pāla kingdom. Elsewhere we hear only of isolated grants to monasteries and similar acts of piety often striking but hardly worthy of mention in comparison with the enormous number of Brahmanic inscriptions. But in the Pāla kingdom¹ Buddhism though corrupt was flourishing so far as the number of its adherents and royal favour were concerned. Gopāla founded the monastery of Odontapuri or Udandapura, which according to some authorities was in the town of Bihar. Dharmapāla the second king of the dynasty (c. 800 A.D.) built on the north bank of the Ganges the even more celebrated University of Vikramāśīla² where many commentaries were composed. It was a centre not only of tantric learning but of logic and grammar and is interesting as showing the connection between Bengal and Tibet. Tibetans studied there and Sanskrit books were translated into Tibetan within its cloisters. Dharmapāla is said to have reigned sixty-four years and to have held his court at Patna which had fallen into decay but now began to revive. According to Tāranātha his successor Devapāla built Somapuri, conquered Orissa and waged war with the unbelievers who had become numerous, no doubt as a result of the preaching of Śaṅkara. But as a rule the Pālas though they favoured Buddhism did not actively discourage Hinduism. They even gave grants to Hindu temples and their prime ministers were generally Brahmans who³ used to erect non-Buddhist images in Buddhist shrines. The dynasty continued through the eleventh century and in this period some information as to the condition of Indian Buddhism is afforded by the relations between Bengal and Tibet. After the persecution of the tenth century Tibetan Buddhism was revived by the preaching of monks from Bengal. Mahipāla then occupied the throne (c. 978–1030) and during his reign various learned men accepted invita-

¹ Tāranātha in his twenty-eighth and following chapters gives an account, unfortunately very confused, of the condition of Buddhism under the Pāla dynasty. See also B. K. Sarkar *Folklore Element in Hindu Culture*, chap. XII, in which there are many interesting statements but not sufficient references.

² See Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 180, for an account of this monastery which was perhaps at the modern Pārthi-hāṭa. I have found no account of what happened to Nalanda in this period but it seems to have disappeared as a seat of learning.

See Tāranātha, chap. XX, III.

tions to Tibet More celebrated is the mission of Atîsa, a monk of the Vikramasîla monastery, which took place about 1038 That these two missions should have been invited and despatched shows that in the eleventh century Bengal was a centre of Buddhist learning Probably the numerous Sanskrit works preserved in Tibetan translations then existed in its monasteries But about the same time the power of the Pâla dynasty, and with it the influence of Buddhism, were curtailed by the establishment of the rival Sena dynasty in the eastern provinces Still, under Râmapâla, who reigned about 1100, the great teacher Abhayakara was an ornament of the Mahayana Târanâtha¹ says that he corrected the text of the scriptures and that in his time there were many Pandits and resident Bhikshus in the monasteries of Vikramasîla, Bodh-Gaya and Odontapuri

There is thus every reason to suppose that in the twelfth century Buddhism still flourished in Bihar, that its clergy numbered several thousands and its learning was held in esteem The blow which destroyed its power was struck by a Mohammedan invasion in 1193 In that year Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad², a general of Kutb-ud-Din, invaded Bihar with a band of only two hundred men and with amazing audacity seized the capital, which, consisting chiefly of palaces and monasteries, collapsed without a blow The monks were massacred to a man, and when the victors, who appear not to have understood what manner of place they had captured, asked the meaning of the libraries which they saw, no one was found capable of reading the books³ It was in 1193 also that Benares was conquered by the Mohammedans I have found no record of the sack of the monastery at Sarnath but the ruins are said to show traces of fire and other indications that it was overwhelmed by some sudden disaster

The Mohammedans had no special animus against Buddhism They were iconoclasts who saw merit in the destruction of images and the slaughter of idolaters But whereas Hinduism was spread over the country, Buddhism was concentrated in

¹ Chap xxxvi It is interesting to notice that even at this late period he speaks of Hinayanists in Bengal.

² Often called Muhammad Bakhtyar but Bakhtyar seems to have been really his father's name

³ Raverty, *Tabat i Nasiri*, p 552 "It was discovered that the whole of that fortress and city was a college and in the Hindi tongue they call a college Bihar,"

the great monasteries and when these were destroyed there remained nothing outside them capable of withstanding either the violence of the Moslems or the assimilative influence of the Brahmans. Hence Buddhism suffered far more from these invasions than Hinduism but still vestiges of it lingered long¹ and exist even now in Orissa. Tāranātha says that the immediate result of the Moslem conquest was the dispersal of the surviving teachers and this may explain the sporadic occurrence of late Buddhist inscriptions in other parts of India. He also tells us that a king named Cangalarāja restored the ruined Buddhist temples of Bengal about 1450. Elsewhere² he gives a not discouraging picture of Buddhism in the Deccan, Gujarat and Rajputana after the Moslem conquest of Magadha but adds that the study of magic became more and more prevalent. In the life of Caitanya it is stated that when travelling in southern India (about 1510 A.D.) he argued with Buddhists and confuted them apparently somewhere in Arcot³. Manuscripts preserved in Nepal indicate that as late as the fifteenth or sixteenth century Bengali copyists wrote out Buddhist works and there is evidence that Bodhi-Gaya continued to be a place of pilgrimage. In 1585 it was visited by a Nepalese named Ahhaya Rājā who on his return erected in Patan a monastery imitated from what he had seen in Bengal and in 1777 the Tashi Lama sent an embassy. But such instances prove little as to the religion of the surrounding Hindu population for at the present day numerous Buddhist pilgrims especially Burmese frequent the shrines. The control of the temple passed into the hands of the Brahmans and for the ordinary Bengali Buddha became a member of India's numerous pantheon. Pandit Haraprasād Sastri mentions a singular poem called Buddhacaritra completed in 1711 and celebrating an incarnation of Buddha which apparently commenced in 1699 and was to end in the reappearance of the golden age. But the being called Buddha is a form of Vishnu and the work is as strange a jumble of religion as it is

¹ Many of them have been collected by Pandit Haraprasād Sastri in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal* 1895, pp. 55 ff. and in his *Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1897.

² Chap. xi. of *ft.* Is the Rāmarandya whom he mentions the last Yadava King (about 1314)? Tāranātha speaks of his son.

³ Caitanya-carit-amrita, chap. vii. transl. by Jadunath Sarkar p. 83. This biography was written in 1582 by Kṛṣṇadāsa. Caitanya died in 1533.

of languages, being written in "a curious medley of bad Sanskrit, bad Hindi and bad Bihari"

It is chiefly in Orissa that traces of Buddhism can still be found within the limits of India proper. The Saraks of Baramba, Tigaria and the adjoining parts of Cuttack describe themselves as Buddhists¹. Their name is the modern equivalent of Śrāvaka and they apparently represent an ancient Buddhist community which has become a sectarian caste. They have little knowledge of their religion but meet once a year in the cave temples of Khandagiri, to worship a deity called Buddhadeva or Caturbhuja. All their ceremonies commence with the formula *Ahimsā parama dharma* and they respect the temple of Puri, which is suspected of having a Buddhist origin.

Nagendranāth Vasu has published some interesting details as to the survival of Buddhist ideas in Orissa². He traces the origin of this hardy though degraded form of Mahayanism to Rāmāi Pandit³, a tantric Acārya of Magadha who wrote a work called *Sūnya Purāṇa* which became popular. Orissa was one of the regions which offered the longest resistance to Islam, for it did not succumb until 1568. A period of Śivaism in the tenth and eleventh centuries is indicated by the temples of Bhubanesvar and other monuments. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the reigning dynasty were worshippers of Vishnu and built the great temples at Puri and Konārak, dedicated to Jagannātha and Sūrya-nārāyana respectively. We do not however hear that they persecuted Buddhism and there are reasons for thinking that Jagannātha is a form of the Buddha⁴ and that the temple at Puri was originally a Buddhist site. It

¹ *Census of India*, 1901 vol. vi Bengal, pp 427-430

² *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanj* (no date? 1911), vol 1 pp cv-cclxiii. The part containing an account of Buddhism in Orissa is also printed separately with the title *Modern Buddhism*, 1911.

³ For Rāmāi Pandit see Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Hist Bengal Language and Lit* pp 30-37, and also B. K. Sarkar, *Folklore Element in Hindu Culture*, p 192, and elsewhere. He appears to have been born at the end of the tenth century and though the *Sūnya Purāṇa* has been re edited and interpolated parts of it are said to be in very old Bengali.

⁴ Nagendranāth Vasu quotes a couplet from the Mahābhārata of the poet Saraladasa: "I pay my humble respects to the incarnation of Buddha who in the form of Buddha dwells in the Nilācala, i.e. Puri." The Imperial Gazetteer of India (s.v. Puri Town) states that in modern representations of Vishnu's ten avatāras, the ninth, or Buddhāvatāra, is sometimes represented by Jagannātha.

is said that it contains a gigantic statue of the Buddha before which a wall has been built and also that the image of Jagannātha which is little more than a log of wood, is really a case enclosing a Buddhist relic. King Pratāparudra († 1529) persecuted Buddhism, which implies that at this late date its adherents were sufficiently numerous to attract attention. Either at the beginning of his reign or before it there flourished a group of six poets of whom the principal were Acyutānanda Dāsa and Caitanya Dāsa¹. Their works are nominally devoted to the celebration of Kṛishna's praises and form the chief vernacular scripture of the Vaishnavas in Orissa but in them Kṛishna or the highest form of the deity by whatever name he is called is constantly identified with Śūnya or the Void that favourite term of Mahayanist philosophy. Passages from them are also quoted stating that in the Kali age the followers of the Buddha must disguise themselves that there are 3000 crypto-buddhists hidden in various parts of Orissa, that Hari has been incarnate in many Buddhas and that the Buddha will appear again on earth. The phrase 'I take refuge in the Buddha in Mātā Ādiśakti (= Dharma) and in the Saṅgha' is also quoted from these works and Caitanya Dāsa describes five Vishnus, who are apparently identical with the five Dhyaṇi Buddhas².

Tāranātha states that the last king of Orissa Mukunda Deva who was overthrown by the Mohammedans in 1568 was a Buddhist and founded some temples and monasteries. In the seventeenth century there flourished a Buddhist poet named Mahādevadāsa³ and the Tibetan pilgrim Buddhagupta visited among other sites the old capital of Mayurabhanja and saw a stupa there. It is claimed that the tribe known as Bāthuris or Bāuris have always been crypto-buddhists and have preserved their ancient customs. They are however no credit to their religion for one of their principal ceremonies is hook swinging⁴.

The doctrine of the Bāthuris is called Mahimā Dharma and experienced an interesting revival in 1875⁵. A blind man named Bhīma Bhoi had a vision of the Buddha who restored his sight

¹ I give the dates or the authority of Narandra Nāth while thinking that they may be somewhat too early. The two authors named wrote the Śūnya R. 10.11.12 and Nirguṇa Māhātmya respectively.

² I. c. cxxvi ff., cxxix-cxxxi, cxxxii.

³ Author of a poem called Dharmagītā.

I. c. cxxvi ff. and cxxxii.

⁴ I. c. cxxxiv ff.

and bade him preach the law. He attracted some thousands of adherents and led a band to Puri proclaiming that his mission was to bring to light the statue of Buddha concealed in the temple. The Raja resisted the attempt and the followers of Bhîma Bhoi were worsted in a sanguinary encounter. Since that time they have retired to the more remote districts of Orissa and are said to hold that the Buddha will appear again in a new incarnation. They are also called Kumbhipatias and according to the last census of India (1911) are hostile to Brahmans and probably number about 25,000.

Traces of Buddhism also survive in the worship of a deity called Dharma-Râjâ or Dharma-Thakur which still prevails in western and southern Bengal¹. Priests of this worship are usually not Brahmans but of low caste, and Haraprasad thinks that the laity who follow it may number "several millions". Though Dharma has come to be associated with the goddess of small-pox and is believed even by his adorers to be a form of Vishnu or of Śiva, yet Dhyâna, or meditation, forms a part of his worship and the prayers and literature of the sect retain some traces of his origin. Thus he is said to be highly honoured in Ceylon and receives the epithet *Sûnyamûrti*.

A corrupt form of Buddhism still exists in Nepal². This country when first heard of was in the hands of the Nevârs who have preserved some traditions of a migration from the north and are akin to the Tibetans in race and language, though like many non-Aryan tribes they have endeavoured to invent for themselves a Hindu pedigree. Buddhism was introduced under Asoka. As Indian influence was strong and communication with Tirhut and Bengal easy, it is probable that Buddhism in Nepal reflected the phases which it underwent in Bengal. A Nepalese inscription of the seventh century gives a list of shrines of which seven are Śivâite, six Buddhist and four Vishnuite³. After that date it was more successful in main-

¹ See Haraprasad Sastri, *l.c.* He gives a curious account of one of his temples in Calcutta. See also B. K. Sarkar, *Folklore Element in Hindu Culture* for the decadence of Buddhism in Bengal and its survival in degenerate forms.

See B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet*, 1874. For the religion of Nepal see also Wright, *History of Nepal*, 1877. C. Bendall, *Journal of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal*, 1886, Rajendralal Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal*, and especially S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, 3 vols. 1905-8.

² S. Lévi in *J. A.* II. 1904, p. 225. He gives the date as 627.

taining itself for it did not suffer from Mohammedan attacks and was less exposed to the assimilative influence of Brahmanism. That influence however though operating in a foreign country and on people not bred among Brahmanic traditions was nevertheless strong. In 1324 the king of Tirhut being expelled thence by Mohammedans seized the throne of Nepal and brought with him many learned Brahmins. His dynasty was not permanent but later in the fourteenth century a subsequent ruler Jayasthiti organized society and religion in consultation with the Brahmin immigrants. The followers of the two religions were arranged in parallel divisions a group of Buddhists classified according to occupation corresponding to each Hindu caste and appropriate rules and ceremonies were prescribed for the different sections. The code then established is still in force in essentials and Nepal being intellectually the pupil of India has continued to receive such new ideas as appeared in the plains of Bengal. When these ascended to the mountain valleys they were adopted with free modification of old and new material alike by both Buddhists and Hindus, but as both sects were geographically isolated each tended to resemble the other more than either resembled normal Buddhism or Hinduism. Naturally the new ideas were mainly Brahmanic and Buddhism had no chance of being fortified by an importation of even moderately orthodox doctrine. In the fourteenth century arose the community of wandering ascetics called Nāthas who were revered by Hindus and Buddhists alike. They rejected the observances of both creeds but often combined their doctrines and though disavowed by the Brahmins exercised a considerable influence among the lower castes. Some of the peculiar deities of Nepal such as Matsyendranāth have attributes traceable to these wanderers. In 1769 Nepal was conquered by the Gurkhas. This tribe seems related to the Tibetan stock as are the Nevars but it had long been hinduized and claimed a Rajput ancestry. Thus Gurkha rule has favoured and accelerated the hinduizing of Nepalese Buddhism.

Since the time of Hodgson the worship of the *Ādi Buddha* or an original divine Buddha practically equivalent to God has been often described as characteristic of Nepalese religion and such a worship undoubtedly exists. But recent accounts indicate that it is not prominent and also that it can hardly be con-

sidered a distinct type of monotheistic Buddhism. The idea that the five Dhyâni-Buddhas are emanations or manifestations of a single primordial Buddha-spirit is a natural development of Mahayanist ideas, but no definite statement of it earlier than the Kâlacakra literature is forthcoming, though many earlier works point towards it¹. In modern Nepal the chief temple of the Âdi-Buddha is on the hill of Svayambhû (the self-existent) near Katmandu. According to a legend preserved in the Svayambhû Purâna, a special divine manifestation occurred in ancient times on an adjoining lake, a miraculous lotus arose on its surface, bearing an image, over which a Caitya was subsequently erected. The shrine is greatly venerated but this Âdi-Buddha, or Svayambhû, does not differ essentially from other miraculous images in India which are said not to consist of ordinary matter but to embody in some special way the nature of a deity. The religion of Nepal is less remarkable for new developments of Buddhism than for the singular fusion of Buddhism with Hinduism which it presents and which helps us to understand what must have been the last phase in Bengal.

The Nepalese Brahmans tolerate Buddhism. The Nepâlâ-mâhâtmya says that to worship Buddha is to worship Śiva, and the Svayambhû Purâna returns the compliment by recommending the worship of Paśupati². The official itinerary of the Hindu pilgrim includes Svayambhû, where he adores Buddha under that name. More often the two religions adore the same image under different names: what is Avalokita to the one is Mahākâla to the other. Durgâ is explained as being the incarnation of the Prajñâ-pâramitâ and she is even identified with the Âdi-Buddha. The Nepalese pantheon like the Tibetan contains three elements, often united in modern legends: firstly aboriginal deities, such as Nagas and other nature spirits; secondly definitely Buddhist deities or Bodhisattvas of whom Mañjuśrî receives the most honour; thirdly Hindu deities such as Gaṇeśa and Kṛishna. The popular deity Matsyendranath appears to combine all three elements in his own person.

Modern accounts of Nepal leave the impression that even

¹ The doctrine of the Âdi-Buddha is fully stated in the metrical version of the Kâraṇḍa vyûha which appears to be a later paraphrase of the prose edition. See Winternitz, *Gesch. Ind. Lit.* II : 238.

² Compare the fusion of Śivaism and Buddhism in Java.

corrupt Bnddhism is in a bad way yet the number of religious establishments is considerable. Celibacy is not observed by their inmates who are called *banras* (*bandyas*). On entering the order the novice takes the ancient vows but after four days he returns to his tutor, confesses that they are too hard for him and is absolved from his obligations. The classes known as *Bhikshus* and *Gubhârjns* officiate as priests the latter being the higher order. The principal ceremony is the offering of melted butter. The more learned *Gubhârjns* receive the title of *Vajracârya*¹ and have the sole right of officiating at marriages and funerals.

There is little learning. The oldest scriptures in use are the so-called nine *Dharmas*². Hodgson describes these works as much venerated and Rajendralal Mitra has analysed them but Sylvain Lévi heard little of them in 1898 though he mentions the recitation of the *Prajñâ pâramitâ*. The *Svayambhû Purâṇo* is an account of the manifestation of the *Âdi Buddha* written in the style of those portions of the Brahmanic *Purâṇas* which treat of the glories of some sacred place. In its present form it can hardly be earlier than the sixteenth century A.D. The *Nepâla-mâhâtmya* is a similar work which though of Brahmanic origin, puts Buddha, Vishnu and Siva on the same footing and identifies the first with Krishna. The *Vâgrati mâhâtmya*³ on the other hand is strictly Sivaite and ignores Buddha's claims to worship. The *Vâṃśâvali* or Chronicle of Nepal written in the Gurkha language (*Parbatiya*) is also largely occupied with an account of sacred sites and buildings and exists in two versions one Buddhist the other Brahmanical.

But let us return to the decadence of Buddhism in India. It is plain that persecution was not its main cause nor even very important among the accessory causes. The available records contain clearer statements about the persecution of Jainism than of Buddhism but no doubt the latter came in for some rough handling though not enough to annihilate a vigorous sect. Great numbers of monasteries in the north were demolished by the Huns and a similar catastrophe brought

¹ Or *Vajracârya-arhat-bhikṣu* *buddh* which in itself shows what a medley Nepâles Buddhism has become.

² See above chap. XX. for some account of these works.

³ Dedicated to the sacred river *Vâgrati* or *Bagmati*.

about the collapse of the Church in Bihar But this last incident cannot be called religious persecution, for Muhammad did not even know what he was destroying Buddhism did not arouse more animosity than other Indian religions the significant feature is that when its temples and monasteries were demolished it did not live on in the hearts of the people, as did Hinduism with all its faults

The relation between the laity and the Church in Buddhism is curious and has had serious consequences for both good and evil The layman "takes refuge" in the Buddha, his law and his church but does not swear exclusive allegiance to follow supplementary observances is not treasonable, provided they are not in themselves objectionable The Buddha prescribed no ceremonies for births, deaths and marriages and apparently expected the laity to continue in the observance of such rites as were in use To-day in China and Japan the good layman is little more than one who pays more attention to Buddhism than to other faiths This charitable phancy had much to do with the victories of Buddhism in the Far East, where it had to struggle against strong prejudices and could hardly have made its way if it had been intolerant of local deities But in India we see the disadvantages of the omission to make the laity members of a special corporation and the survival of the Jains, who do form such a corporation, is a clear object lesson Social life in India tends to combine men in castes or in communities which if not castes in the technical sense have much the same character Such communities have great vitality so long as they maintain their peculiar usages, but when they cease to do so they soon disintegrate and are reabsorbed Buddhism from the first never took the form of a corporation The special community which it instituted was the sangha or body of monks Otherwise, it aimed not at founding a sect but at including all the world as lay believers on easy terms This principle worked well so long as the faith was in the ascendent but its effect was disastrous when decline began The line dividing Buddhist laymen from ordinary Hindus became less and less marked distinctive teaching was found only in the monasteries these became poorly recruited and as they were gradually deserted or destroyed by Mohammedans the religion of the Buddha disappeared from his native land

Even in the monasteries the doctrine taught bore a closer resemblance to Hinduism than to the preaching of Gotama and it is this absence of the protestant spirit this pliant adaptability to the ideas of each age which caused Indian Buddhism to lose its individuality and separate existence. In some localities its disappearance and absorption were preceded by a monstrous phase known as Tantrism or Saktism in which the worst elements of Hinduism those which would have been most repulsive to Gotama made an unnatural alliance with his church.

I treat of Tantrism and Saktism in another chapter. The original meaning of Tantra as applied to literary compositions is a simplified manual.¹ Thus we hear of Vishnuite Tantras and in this sense there is a real similarity between Buddhist and tantric teaching for both set aside Brahmanic tradition as needless ly complicated and both profess to preach a simple and practical road to salvation. But in Hinduism and Buddhism alike such words as Tantra and tantric acquire a special sense and imply the worship of the divine energy in a female form called by many names such as Kālī in the former Tara in the latter. This worship which in my opinion should be called Saktism rather than Tantrism combines many elements ancient savage superstitions as well as ingenious but fanciful speculation but its essence is always magic. It attempts to attain by magical or sacramental formula and acts not only prosperity and power but salvation nirvana and union with the supreme spirit. Some of its sects practise secret Immortal rites. It is sad to confess that degenerate Buddhism did not remain uncorrupted by such abuses.

It is always a difficult and speculative task to trace the early stages of new movements in Indian religion but it is clear that by the eighth century and perhaps earlier the Buddhism of Bihar and Bengal had fallen a prey to this influence. Apparently the public ritual in the Vihāras remained unchanged and the usual language about *nirvāṇa* and *Aṇuyāsi* was not discarded but it

¹ Hardly any Buddhist Tantras have been edited in Europe. See Bendall, *Saddakāśa-saṅgraha* for a collection of extracts (also published in *Monson* 1905) and De la Vallée Poussin *Bouddhisme Étude et Matière et la Pancakrama*, 1896.

While this book was going through the press I received the Tibetan Tantra called *Shri-bhadrakarmāṃbha* (Avalokita Tantrio Texts, vol. vii) with introduction by A. Avalon, but have not been able to make use of it.

was taught that those who followed a certain curriculum could obtain salvation by magical methods. To enter this curriculum it was necessary to have a qualified teacher and to receive from him initiation or baptism (abhisheka). Of the subsequent rites the most important is to evoke one of the many Buddhas or Bodhisattvas recognized by the Mahayana and identify oneself with him¹. He who wishes to do this is often called a sâdhaka or magician but his achievements, like many Indian miracles, are due to self-hypnotization. He is directed to repair to a lonely place and offer worship there with flowers and prayers. To this office succeed prolonged exercises in meditation which do not depart much from the ancient canon since they include the four Brahmâ-vihâras. Their object is to suppress thought and leave the mind empty. Then the sâdhaka fills this void with the image of some Bodhisattva, for instance Avalokita. This he does by uttering mystic syllables called bîja or seed, because they are supposed to germinate and grow into the figures which he wishes to produce. In this way he imagines that he sees the emblems of the Bodhisattva spring up round him one by one and finally he himself assumes the shape of Avalokita and becomes one with him. Something similar still exists in Tibet where every Lama chooses a tutelary deity or Yi-dam whom he summons in visible form after meditation and fasting². Though this procedure when set forth methodically in a mediæval manual seems an absurd travesty of Buddhism, yet it has links with the early faith. It is admitted in the Pitakas that certain forms of meditation³ lead to union with Brahmâ and it is no great change to make them lead to union with other supernatural beings. Still we are not here breathing the atmosphere of the Pitakas. The object is not to share Brahmâ's heaven but to become temporarily identified with a deity, and this is not a byway of religion but the high road.

But there is a further stage of degradation. I have already mentioned that various Bodhisattvas are represented as accompanied by a female deity, particularly Avalokita by Târâ. The

¹ See Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, pp. 8 ff. De la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux*, pp. 213 ff. For Japanese tantric ceremonies see the Si Do In-Dzon in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. VIII.

² In ancient Egypt also the Kher heb or magician priest claimed the power of becoming various gods. See Budge, *Osiris*, II 170 and Wiedemann, *Magic in ancient Egypt*, 13 ff.

³ The Brahmâ vihâras. *E.g.* Dig. Nik. xiii.

mythological and metaphysical ideas which have grown up round Śiva and Durgā also attached themselves to these couples. The Buddha or Bodhisattva is represented as enjoying nirvāṇa because he is united to his spouse and to the three bodies already enumerated is added a fourth the body of perfect bliss¹. Sometimes this idea merely leads to further developments of the practices described above. Thus the devotee may imagine that he enters into Tārā as an embryo and is born of her as a Buddha². More often the argument is that since the bliss of the Buddha consists in union with Tārā nirvāṇa can be obtained by sexual union here, and we find many of the tantric wizards represented as accompanied by female companions. The adept should avoid all action but he is beyond good and evil and the dangerous doctrine that he can do evil with impunity which the more respectable sects repudiate is expressly taught. The sage is not defiled by passion but conquers passion by passion. he should commit every infamy he should rob lie and kill Buddhas³. These crazy precepts are probably little more than a speculative application to the moral sphere of the doctrine that all things are non-existent and hence equivalent. But though tantrists did not go about robbing and murdering so freely as their principles allowed there is some evidence that in the period of decadence the morality of the Bhikṣhus had fallen into great discredit. Thus in the allegorical Viṣṇuīta drama called *Prabodhacandrodaya* and written at Kalanjar near the end of the eleventh century Buddhists and Jains are represented as succumbing to the temptations of inebriety and voluptuousness.

It is necessary to mention this phase of decadence but no good purpose would be served by dwelling further on the absurd and often disgusting prescriptions of such works as the *Tathāgata-guhyaka*. If the European reader is inclined to condemn unreservedly a religion which even in decrepitude could find place for such monstrosities he should remember that the aberrations of Indian religion are due not to its

¹ *Mahā-saṃkhyā* or *vajrakīya*.

² De la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et Mémoires* p. 153.

³ See *Śubhāṣita-saṃgraha* edited by Bendall. Part II. pp. 29 ff. especially p. 41. *Paravaharaṇam kāryam paradāraṇishvaraṇam Vaktavyam oṃṛitam nityam sarvabuddhāpīṇa ghātayet*. See also *Tathāgata-guhyaka* in Rajendralal Mitra's *Sanskrit Literature in Nepal*, pp. 261-264.

inherent depravity, but to its universality. In Europe those who follow disreputable occupations rarely suppose that they have anything to do with the Church. In India, robbers, murderers, gamblers, prostitutes, and maniacs all have their appropriate gods, and had the Marquis de Sade been a Hindu he would probably have founded a new tantric sect. But though the details of Sâktism are an unprofitable study, it is of some importance to ascertain when it first invaded Buddhism and to what extent it superseded older ideas.

Some critics¹ seem to imply for their statements are not very explicit that Sâktism formed part if not of the teaching of the Buddha, at least of the medley of beliefs held by his disciples. But I see no proof that Sâktist beliefs—that is to say erotic mysticism founded on the worship of goddesses—were prevalent in Magadha or Kosala before the Christian era. Although Sîm, the goddess of luck, is mentioned in the Pîtakas, the popular deities whom they bring on the scene are almost exclusively masculine.² And though in the older Brahmanic books there are passages which might easily become tantric, yet the transition is not made and the important truths of religion are kept distinct from unclean rites and thoughts. The Brihad-âraṇyaka contains a chapter which hardly admits of translation but the object of the practices inculcated is simply to ensure the birth of a son. The same work (not without analogies in the ecstatic utterances of Christian saints) boldly compares union with the Âtman to the bliss of one who is embraced by a beloved wife, but this is a mere illustration and there is no hint of the doctrine that the goal of the religious life is obtainable by *marthuna*. Still such passages, though innocent in themselves, make it easy to see how degrading superstitions found an easy entrance into the noblest edifices of Indian thought and possibly some heresies condemned in the Kathâvatthu³ indicate that even at this early date the Buddhist Church was contaminated by erotic fancies. But, if so, there is no evidence that such malpractices were widespread. The

¹ For instance De la Vallée Poussin in his *Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux*, 1896. In his later work, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*, he modifies his earlier views.

² See Dig. Nik. xx and xxxvii.

³ Kathâv. xxiii. 1 and 2.

appendices to the Lotus¹ show that the worship of a many named goddess invoked as a defender of the faith was beginning to be a recognized feature of Buddhism. But they contain no indications of left banded Tantrism and the best proof that it did not become prevalent until much later is afforded by the narratives of the three Chinese pilgrims who all describe the condition of religion in India and notice anything which they thought singular or reprehensible. Fa Hsien does not mention the worship of any female deity² nor does the Life of Vasubandhu but Asanga appears to allude to Śāktism in one passage³ Hsüan Chuang mentions images of Tārā but without hinting at tantric ritual nor does I-Ching allude to it nor does the evidence of art and inscriptions attest its existence. It may have been known as a form of popular superstition and even have been practised by individual Bhikkhus but the silence of I-Ching makes it improbable that it was then countenanced in the schools of Magadha. He complains⁴ of those who neglect the Vinaya and devote their whole attention to the doctrine of nothingness but he says not a word about tantric abuses⁵.

The change probably occurred in the next half century⁶ for Padma-Sambhava the founder of Lamaism who is said to have resided in Gaya and Nalanda and to have arrived in Tibet in 747 A.D. is represented by tradition as a tantric wizard and about the same time translations of Tantras begin to appear in Chinese. The translations of the sixth and seventh centuries including those of I-Ching comprise a considerable though not preponderant number of Dhāraṇīs. After the seventh century

¹ These appendices are later additions to the original text but they were translated into Chinese in the third century. Among the oldest Sanskrit MSS. from Japan is the *Ushyishā vijaya-dhāraṇī* and there is a goddess with a similar name. But the Dhāraṇī is not Śikṣit. See text in *Anec. Oxon. Aryan series*.

² He speaks of Kwan-shih yin but this is probably the male Avalokita.

³ *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, ix. 45. Of course there may be many other allusions in yet unedited works of Asanga but it is noticeable that this allusion to *moukṣa* is only made in passing and is not connected with the essence of his teaching.

⁴ *Tranś. Takakusu*, p. 51.

⁵ Tārānātha, chap. xxii seems also to assign a late origin to the Tantras though his remarks are neither clear nor consistent with what he says in other passages. He is doubtless right in saying that tantric rites were practised surreptitiously before they were recognized openly.

It is about this time too that we hear of Tantrism in Hindulism. In the drama *Mālatī and Mādhava* (c. 730 A.D.) the heroine is kidnapped and is about to be sacrificed to the goddess Candī when she is rescued.

these became very numerous and several Tantras were also translated¹ The inference seems to be that early in the eighth century Indian Buddhists officially recognized Tantrism

Tantric Buddhism was due to the mixture of Mahayanist teaching with aboriginal superstitions absorbed through the medium of Hinduism, though in some cases there may have been direct contact and mutual influence between Mahayanism and aboriginal beliefs But as a rule what happened was that aboriginal deities were identified with Hindu deities and Buddhism had not sufficient independence to keep its own pantheon distinct, so that Vairocana and Târâ received most of the attributes, brahmanic or barbarous, given to Śiva or Kâlî The worship of the goddesses, described in their hinduized form as Durgâ, Kâlî, etc., though found in most parts of India was specially prevalent in the sub-himalayan districts both east and west Now Padma-Sambhava was a native of Udyâna or Swat and Târanâtha represents the chief Tantrists² as coming from there or visiting it Hsuan Chuang³ tells us that the inhabitants were devout Mahayanists but specially expert in magic and exorcism He also describes no less than four sacred places in it where the Buddha in previous births gave his flesh, blood or bones for the good of others Have we here in a Buddhist form some ancient legend of dismemberment like that told of Satî in Assam² Of Kashmir he says that its religion was a mixture of Buddhism with other beliefs⁴ These are precisely the conditions most favourable to the growth of Tantrism and though

¹ See the latter part of Appendix II in Nanjio's Catalogue

² *E.g.* Lehitavajra, Lilâvajra, Buddhaśānti, Ratnavajra Târanâtha also (tr Schiefner, p 264) speaks of Tantras "Welche aus Udyana gebracht und nie in Indien gewesen sind" It is also noticeable, as Grünwedel has pointed out, that many of the siddhas or sorcerers bear names which have no meaning in Aryan languages Bir va pa, Na-ro pa, Lui pa, etc A curious late tradition represents Śāktism as coming from China See a quotation from the Mahâcinatantra in the *Archæological Survey of Mayurabhanj*, p xiv Either China is here used loosely for some country north of the Himalayas or the story is pure fancy, for with rare exceptions (for instance the Lamaism of the Yüan dynasty) the Chinese seem to have rejected Śāktist works or even to have expurgated them, *e.g.* the Tathâgata-guhyaka

³ His account of Udyâna and Kashmir will be found in Watters, chapters VII and VIII

⁴ Traces of Buddhism still exist, for according to Bühler the Nilamata Purâna orders the image of Buddha to be worshipped on Vaisakha 15 to the accompaniment of recitations by Buddhist ascetics

the bulk of the population are now Mohammedans witchcraft and sorcery are still rampant. Among the Hindu Kashmiris¹ the most prevalent religion has always been the worship of Śiva especially in the form representing him as half male half female. This cult is not far from Śāktism and many allusions² in the *Rājataranginī* indicate that left hand worship was known, though the author satirizes it as a corruption. He also several times mentions³ *Mātri-cakras* that is circles sacred to the Mothers or tantric goddesses. In Nepal and Tibet tantric Buddhism is fully developed but these countries have received so much from India that they exhibit not a parallel growth but late Indian Tantrism as imported ready made from Bengal. It is here that we come nearest to the origins of Tantrism for though the same beliefs may have flourished in Udyāna and Kashmir they did not spread much in the Panjab or Hindustan where their progress was hindered at first by a healthy and vigorous Hinduism and subsequently by Mohammedan invasions. But from 700 to 1197 A.D. Bengal was remote alike from the main currents of Indian religion and from foreign raids little Aryan thought or learning leavened the local superstitions which were infecting and stifling decadent Buddhism. Hsüan Chuang informs us that Bhaskaravarma king of Kāmarūpa⁴ attended the fêtes celebrated by Harsha in 644 A.D. and inscriptions found at Tezpur indicate that kings with Hindu names reigned in Assam about 800 A.D. This is agreeable to the supposition that an amalgamation of Śivaism and aboriginal religion may have been in formation about 700 A.D. and have influenced Buddhism.

In Bihar from the eighth century onwards the influence of Tantrism was powerful and disastrous. The best information about this epoch is still to be found in *Tāranātha* in spite of his defects.

He makes the interesting statement that in the reign of Gopāla who was a Buddhist although his ministers were not (730-740 A.D.) the Buddhists wished their religious buildings to

¹ For notices of Kashmirian religion see Stein's translation of the *Rājataranginī* and Bühler *Tower and Search of Sanskrit manuscripts* J. Bomb. A.S. 1877
 VI. 11-13, VII. 378-280 296 523.
 I. 122, 335, 348; III. 90 v. 55.
 Also called Kumāra.

be kept separate from Hindu temples but that, in spite of protests, life-sized images of Hindu deities were erected in them¹ The ritual too was affected, for we hear several times of burnt offerings² and how Bodhibhadra, one of the later professors of Vikramaśīla, was learned in the mystic lore of both Buddhists and Brahmans. Nalanda and the other viharas continued to be seats of learning and not merely monasteries, and for some time there was a regular succession of teachers Tāranātha gives us to understand that there were many students and authors but that sorcery occupied an increasingly important position Of most teachers we are told that they saw some deity, such as Avalokita or Tārā The deity was summoned by the rites already described³ and the object of the performer was to obtain magical powers or siddhi The successful sorcerer was known as siddha, and we hear of 84 mahāsiddhas, still celebrated in Tibet, who extend from Rahulabhadra Nāgārjuna to the thirteenth century Many of them bear names which appear not to be Indian

The topics treated of in the Tantras are divided into Kriyā (ritual), Caryā (apparently corresponding to Vinaya), Yoga, and Anuttara-yoga Sometimes the first three are contrasted with the fourth and sometimes the first two are described as lower, the third and fourth as higher But the Anuttara-yoga is always considered the highest and most mysterious⁴ Tāranātha says⁵ that the Tantras began to appear simultaneously with the Mahayana sūtras but adds that the Anuttara-yoga tantras appeared gradually⁶ He also observes that the Âcārya Ânandagarbha⁷ did much to spread them in Magadha It is not until

¹ Similarly statues of Mahādevī are found in Jain temples now, *etc.* in Gujarat

² This very unbuddhist practice seems to have penetrated even to Japan Burnt offerings form part of the ritual in the temple of Narita

³ See for instance the account of how Kamalarakṣita summoned Yamārī

⁴ So too the Saṃhitās of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Āgamas of the Śaivas are said to consist of four quarters teaching Jñāna, Yoga, Kriyā and Caryā respectively See Schrader, *Introd. to Pancaratra*, p. 22 Sometimes five classes of Tantras are enumerated which are perhaps all subdivisions of the Anuttara yoga, namely Guhyasamāja, Mâyājāla, Buddhasammāyoga, Candraguhyatilaka, Manjuśrīkrodha See Tāranātha (Schiefner), p. 221

⁵ Chap. XLIII But this seems hardly consistent with his other statements

⁶ The Lamas in Tibet have a similar theory of progressive tantric revelation See Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 56, 57

⁷ In the reign of Mahipāla, 978-1030 A.D.

a late period of the Pāla dynasty that he mentions the Kālacakra which is the most extravagant form of Buddhist Tantrism.

This accords with other statements to the effect that the Kālacakra tantra was introduced in 965 A.D. from Sambhala, a mysterious country in Central Asia. This system is said to be Vishnuite rather than Śivaite. It specially patronizes the cult of the mystic Buddhas such as Kālacakra and Heruka, all of whom appear to be regarded as forms of Ādi Buddha or the primordial Buddha essence. The Siddha named Pito is also described as the author of this doctrine¹ which had less importance in India than in Tibet.

On the other hand Tāranātha gives us the names of several doctors of the Vinaya who flourished under the Pāla dynasty. Even as late as the reign of Rāmapāla (? 1080-1120) we hear that the Hinayanists were numerous. In the reign of Dharmapāla (c. 800 A.D.) some of them broke up the great silver image of Heruka at Bodh-Gaya and burnt the books of Mantras². These instances show that the older Buddhism was not entirely overwhelmed by Tantrism³ though perhaps it was kept alive more by pilgrims than by local sentiment. Thus the Chinese inscriptions of Bodh-Gaya though they speak at length of the three bodies of Buddha show no signs of Tantrism. It would appear that the worship celebrated in the holy places of Magadha preserved a respectable side until the end. In the same way although Tantrism is strong in the literature of the Lamas, none of the many descriptions of Tibet indicate that there is anything scandalous in the externals of religion. Probably in Tibet, Nepal and medieval Magadha alike the existence of disgraceful tantric literature does not indicate such widespread depravity as might be supposed. But of its putrefying influence in corrupting the minds of those who ought to have preserved

¹ Tāranātha, p. 275. For the whole subject see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 41-3 and my chapters on Tibet below.

² Schiefner (transl. Tāranātha, p. 231) describes these Śrāvakas or Hinayanists as "Saindhava oder Śrāvakas aus Sindh als n.w. waren." They are apparently the same as the Saindhava-śrāvakas often mentioned by Tāranātha. Are they Hinayanists from Sindh where the Sāṃmitīya school was prevalent? See also Pug Sam Jon Zang, pp. cxix, 114 and 134 where Sarat Chandra Das explains Saindhava as a brahminical sect.

³ The curious story (Tāranātha, p. 206) in which a Buddhist at first refuses on religious grounds to take part in the evocation of a demon seems also to hint at a disapproval of magic.

the pure faith there can be no doubt. More than any other form of mixed belief it obliterated essential differences, for Buddhist Tantrism and Śivaite Tantrism are merely two varieties of Tantrism.

What is happening at Bodh-Gaya at present¹ illustrates how Buddhism disappeared from India. The abbot of a neighbouring Śivaite monastery who claims the temple and grounds does not wish, as a Mohammedan might, to destroy the building or even to efface Buddhist emblems. He wishes to supervise the whole establishment and the visits of pilgrims, as well as to place on the images of Buddha Hindu sectarian marks and other ornaments. Hindu pilgrims are still taken by their guides to venerate the Bodhi tree and, but for the presence of foreign pilgrims, no casual observer would suppose the spot to be anything but a Hindu temple of unusual construction. The same process went a step further in many shrines which had not the same celebrity and effaced all traces and memory of Buddhism.

At the present day the Buddha is recognized by the Brahmans as an incarnation of Vishnu², though the recognition is often qualified by the statement that Vishnu assumed this form in order to mislead the wicked who threatened to become too powerful if they knew the true method of attaining superhuman powers. But he is rarely worshipped *in propria personā*³. As a rule Buddhist images and emblems are ascribed to Vishnu or Śiva, according to sectarian preferences, but in spite of fusion some lingering sense of original animosity prevents Gotama from receiving even such respect as is accorded to incarnations like Paraśurāma. At Bodh-Gaya I have been told that Hindu pilgrims are taken by their guides to venerate the Bodhi-tree but not the images of Buddha.

Yet in reviewing the disappearance of Buddhism from India we must remember that it was absorbed not expelled. The result of the mixture is justly called Hinduism, yet both in

¹ This passage was written about 1910. In the curious temple at Gaya called Bishnupad the chief object of veneration is a foot-like mark. Such impressions are venerated in many parts of the world as Buddha's feet and it seems probable, considering the locality, that this footprint was attributed to Buddha before it was transferred to Vishnu.

² There are no very early references to this Avatāra. It is mentioned in some of the Puranas (e.g. Bhāgavata and Agni) and by Kshemendra.

³ But see the instances quoted above from Kashmir and Nepal.

usages and beliefs it has taken over much that is Buddhist and without Buddhism it would never have assumed its present shape. To Buddhist influence are due for instance the rejection by most sects of animal sacrifices, the doctrine of the sanctity of animal life, monastic institutions and the ecclesiastical discipline found in the Dravidian regions. We may trace the same influence with more or less certainty in the philosophy of Śaṅkara and outside the purely religious sphere in the development of Indian logic. These and similar points are dealt with in more detail in other parts of this work and I need not dwell on them here.

BOOK V
HINDUISM

BOOK V

THE present book deals with Hinduism and includes the period just treated in Book IV. In many epochs the same mythological and metaphysical ideas appear in a double form—Brahmanic and Buddhist, and it is hard to say which form is the earlier.

Any work which like the present adopts a geographical and historical treatment is bound to make Buddhism seem more important than Hinduism and rightly for the conversion and transformation of China, Japan and many other countries are a series of exploits of great moment for the history not merely of religion but of civilization. Yet when I think of the antiquity, variety and vitality of Hinduism in India—no small sphere—the nine chapters which follow seem very inadequate. I can only urge that though it would be easy to fill an encyclopædia with accounts of Indian beliefs and practices yet there is often great similarity under superficial differences: the main lines of thought are less numerous than they seem to be at first sight and they tend to converge.

CHAPTER XXV

SIVA AND VISHNU

I

THE striking difference between the earlier and later phases of Indian religious belief, between the Vedic hymns, Bráhmaṇas, Upanishads and their accessory treatises on the one hand, and the epics, Purāṇas, Tantras and later literature on the other, is due chiefly to the predominance in the latter of the great gods Śiva and Viṣṇu, with the attendant features of sectarian worship and personal devotion to a particular deity. The difference is not wholly chronological, for late writers sometimes take the Vedic standpoint and ignore the worship of these deities, but still their prominence in literature, and probably in popular mythology, is posterior to the Vedic period. The change created by their appearance is not merely the addition of two imposing figures to an already ample pantheon, it is a revolution which might be described as the introduction of a new religion, except that it does not come as the enemy or destroyer of the old. The worship of the new deities grows up peacefully in the midst of the ancient rites, they receive the homage of the same population and the ministrations of the same priests. The transition is obscured but also was facilitated by the strength of Buddhism during the period when it occurred. The Brahmins, confronted by this formidable adversary, were disposed to favour any popular religious movement which they could adapt to their interests.

When the Hindu revival sets in under the Guptas, and Buddhism begins to decline, we find that a change has taken place which must have begun several centuries before, though our imperfect chronology does not permit us to date it. Whereas the Vedic sacrificers propitiated all the gods impartially and regarded ritual as a sacred science giving power over nature, the worshipper of the later deities is generally sectarian and often emotional. He selects one for his adoration, and this selected deity becomes not merely a great god among others

but a gigantic cosmical figure in whom centre the philosophy poetry and passion of his devotees. He is almost God in the European sense but still Indian deities though they may have a monopoly of adoration in their own sects are never entirely similar to Jehovah or Allah. They are at once more mythical more human and more philosophical since they are conceived of not as creators and rulers external to the world but as forces manifesting themselves in nature. An exuberant mythology bestows on them monstrous forms celestial residences wives and offspring they make occasional appearances in this world as men and animals they act under the influence of passions which if titanic are but human feelings magnified. The philosopher accommodates them to his system by saying that Vishnu or Siva is the form which the Supreme Spirit assumes as Lord of the visible universe a form which is real only in the same sense that the visible world itself is real.

Vishnu and Rudra are known even to the Rig Veda but as deities of no special eminence. It is only after the Vedic age that they became each for his own worshippers undisputed Lords of the Universe. A limiting date to the antiquity of Sivaism and Vishnuism as their cults may be called is furnished by Buddhist literature at any rate for north-eastern India. The Pali Piṭakas frequently¹ introduce popular deities but give no prominence to Vishnu and Siva. They are apparently mentioned under the names of Veṇu and Isāna but are not differentiated from a host of spirits now forgotten. The Piṭakas have no prejudices in the matter of deities and their object is to represent the most powerful of them as admitting their inferiority to the Buddha. If Siva and Vishnu are not put forward in the same way as Brahmā and Indra the inference seems clear it had not occurred to anyone that they were particularly important.

The suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya in which these lists of deities occur were perhaps composed before 300 B.C.² About that date Megasthenes the Greek envoy at Pataliputra describes two Indian deities under the names of Dionysus and Herakles. They are generally identified with Kṛishṇa and Siva. It might be difficult to deduce this identity from an analysis of each

¹ See especially Dig. Nik. xx. and xxxii.

² But the lists may be pieces of folk lore older than the suttas in which they are incorporated.

description and different authorities have identified both Śiva and Kṛishna with Dionysus, but the fact remains that a somewhat superficial foreign observer was impressed with the idea that the Hindus worshipped two great gods. He would hardly have derived this idea from the Vedic pantheon, and it is not clear to what gods he can refer if not to Śiva and Viṣṇu. It thus seems probable that these two cults took shape about the fourth century B.C. Their apparently sudden appearance is due to their popular character and to the absence of any record in art. The statuary and carving of the Asokan period and immediately succeeding centuries is exclusively Buddhist. No temples or images remain to illustrate the first growth of Hinduism (as the later form of Indian religion is commonly styled) out of the earlier Brahmanism. Literature (on which we are dependent for our information) takes little account of the early career of popular gods before they win the recognition of the priesthood and aristocracy, but when that recognition is once obtained they appear in all their majesty and without any hint that their honours are recent.

As already mentioned, we have evidence that in the fifth or sixth century before Christ the Vedic or Brahmanic religion was not the only form of worship and philosophy in India. There were popular deities and rites to which the Brahmans were not opposed and which they countenanced when it suited them. What takes place in India to-day took place then. When some aboriginal deity becomes important owing to the prosperity of the tribe or locality with which he is connected, he is recognized by the Brahmans and admitted to their pantheon, perhaps as the son or incarnation of some personage more generally accepted as divine. The prestige of the Brahmans is sufficient to make such recognition an honour, but it is also their interest and millennial habit to secure control of every important religious movement and to incorporate rather than suppress. And this incorporation is more than mere recognition: the parvenu god borrows something from the manners and attributes of the Olympian society to which he is introduced. The greater he grows, the more considerable is the process of fusion and borrowing. Hindu philosophy ever seeks for the one amongst the many and popular thought, in a more confused way, pursues the same goal. It combines and identifies its

deities feeling dimly that taken singly they are too partial to be truly divine or it piles attributes upon them striving to make each an adequate divine whole.

Among the processes which have contributed to form Viṣṇu and Śiva we must reckon the invasions which entered India from the north west¹. In Bactria and Sogdiana there met and were combined the art and religious ideas of Greece and Persia and whatever elements were imported by the Yüeh-chih and other tribes who came from the Chinese frontier. The personalities of Viṣṇu and Śiva need not be ascribed to foreign influence. The ruder invaders took kindly to the worship of Śiva, but there is no proof that they introduced it. But Persian and Græco-Bactrian influence favoured the creation of more definite deities more personal and more pictorial. The gods of the Vedic hymns are vague and indistinct the Supreme Being of the Upanishads altogether impersonal but Mithra and Apollo though divine in their majesty are human in their persons and in the appeal they make to humanity. The influence of these foreign conceptions and especially of their representation in art is best seen in Indian Buddhism. Hinduism has not so ancient an artistic record and therefore the Græco-Bactrian influence on it is less obvious for the sculpture of the Gupta period does not seem due to this inspiration. Neither in outward form nor in character do Viṣṇu and Śiva show much more resemblance to Apollo and Mithra than to the Vedic gods. Their exuberant, fantastic shapes their many heads and arms are a symbol of their complex and multiple attributes. They are not restricted by the limits of personality but are great polymorphic forces not to be indicated by the limits of one human shape².

¹ The Dionysus of Megasthenes is a deity who comes from the west with an army that suffers from the heat of the plains. If we could be certain that he meant Śiva by Dionysus this would be valuable evidence. But he clearly misunderstood many things in Indian religion. Greek legends connected Dionysus with India and the East.

² Macdonell seems to me correct in saying (*J.R.A.S.* 1915, p. 125) that one reason why Indian deities have many arms is that they may be able to carry the various symbols by which they are characterized. Another reason is that worship is usually accompanied by dhyāna, that is forming a mental image of the deity as described in a particular text. *E.g.* the worshipper repeats a mantra which describes a deity in language which was originally metaphorical as having many heads and arms and at the same time he ought to make a mental image of such a figure.

2

Though alike in their grandeur and multiplicity, Vishnu and Śiva are not otherwise similar. In their completely developed forms they represent two ways of looking at the world. The main ideas of the Vaiṣṇavas are human and emotional. The deity saves and loves; he asks for a worship of love. He appears in human incarnations and is known as well or better by these incarnations than in his original form. But in Śivaism the main current of thought is scientific and philosophic rather than emotional¹. This statement may seem strange if one thinks of the wild rites and legends connected with Śiva and his spouse. Nevertheless the fundamental conception of Śivaism, the cosmic force which changes and in changing both destroys and reproduces, is strictly scientific and contrasts with the human, pathetic, loving sentiments of Viṣṇuism. And scandalous as the worship of the generative principle may become, the potency of this impulse in the world scheme cannot be denied. Agreeably to his character of a force rather than an emotion Śiva does not become incarnate² as a popular hero and saviour like Râma or Kṛishna, but he assumes various supernatural forms for special purposes. Both worships, despite their differences, show characteristics which are common to most phases of Indian religion. Both seek for deliverance from transmigration and are penetrated with a sense of the sorrow inherent in human and animal life. Both develop or adopt philosophical doctrines which rise high above the level usually attained by popular beliefs, and both

¹ But some forms of Śivaism in southern India come even nearer to emotional Christianity than does Viṣṇuism.

² I cannot discover that any alleged avatâra of Śiva has now or has had formerly any importance, but the Vâyu, Īṅga and Kûrma Purâṇa give lists of such incarnations, as does also the Catechism of the Shaiva religion translated by Foulkes. But Indian sects have a strong tendency to ascribe all possible achievements and attributes to their gods. The mere fact that Viṣṇu becomes incarnate incites the ardent Śivaite to say that his god can do the same. A curious instance of this rivalry is found in the story that Śiva manifested himself as Śarabha mûrti in order to curb the ferocity of Viṣṇu when incarnate in the Man Lion (see Gopinâtha Rao, *Hindu Icon* p. 45). Śiva often appears in a special form, not necessarily human, for a special purpose (e.g. Virabhadra) and some tantric Buddhas seem to be imitations of these apparitions. There is a strong element of Śivaism borrowed from Bengal in the mythology of Tibet and Mongolia, where such personages as Hevajra, Samvara, and Mahākâla have a considerable importance under the strange title of Buddhas.

have erotic aspects in which they fall below the standard of morality usually professed by important secta whether in Asia or Europe

The name Śiva is euphemistic. It means propitious and like Eumenides¹ is used as a deprecating and complimentary title for the god of torments. It is not his earliest designation and does not occur as a proper name in the Rig Veda where he is known as Rudra a word of disputed derivation but probably meaning the roarer. Comparatively few hymns are addressed to Rudra but he is clearly distinguished from the other Vedic gods. Whereas they are cheerful and benevolent figures he is maleficent and terrible: they are gods of the heaven but he is a god of the earth. He is the man-slayer and the sender of disease but if he restrains these activities he can give safety and health.

Slay us not for thou art gracious and so the Destroyer comes to be the Gracious One¹. It has been suggested that the name Śiva is connected with the Tamil word *ṣirappu* red and also that Rudra means not the roarer but the red or shining one. These etymologies seem to me possible but not proved. But Rudra is different in character from the other gods of the Rig Veda. It would be rash to say that the Aryan invaders of India brought with them no god of this sort but it is probable that this element in their pantheon increased as they gradually united in blood and ideas with the Dravidian population. But we know nothing of the beliefs of the Dravidians at this remote period. We only know that in later ages emotional religion finding expression as so-called devil-dancing in its lower and as mystical poetry in its higher phases, was prevalent among them.

The White Yajur Veda² contains a celebrated prayer known as the Śatarudriya addressed to Rudra or the Rudras for the power invoked seems to be now many and now one. This deity who is described by a long string of epithets receives the name of Śankara (afterwards a well known epithet of Śiva) and is blue-necked. He is begged to be *śiva* or propitious but the word is an epithet not a proper name. He haunts mountains and deserted uncanny places: he is the patron of violent and lawless men of soldiers and robbers (the two are evidently

¹ The passage from one epithet to the other is very plain in R.V. I. 114 Book XVI.

considered much the same), of thieves, cheats and pilferers¹, but also of craftsmen and huntsmen and is himself "an observant merchant" he is the lord of hosts of spirits, "ill-forned and of all forms" But he is also a great cosmic force who "dwells in flowing streams and in billows and in tranquil waters and in rivers and on islands and at the roots of trees" who "exists in incantations, in punishments, in prosperity, in the soil, in the threshing-floor in the woods and in the bushes, in sound and in echo in young grass and in foam in gravel and in streams in green things and in dry things Reverence to the leaf and to him who is in the fall of the leaf, the threatener, the slayer, the vexer and the afflicter" Here we see how an evil and disreputable god, the patron of low castes and violent occupations, becomes associated with the uncanny forces of nature and is on the way to become an All-God²

Rudra is frequently mentioned in the Atharva Veda He is conceived much as in the Śatarudriya, and is the lord of spirits and of animals "For thee the beasts of the wood, the deer, swans and various winged birds are placed in the forest thy living creatures exist in the waters for thee the celestial waters flow Thou shootest at the monsters of the ocean, and there is to thee nothing far or near³"

These passages show that the main conceptions out of which the character of the later Śiva is built existed in Vedic times The Rudra of the Yajur and Atharva Vedas is not Brahmanic he is not the god of priests and orderly ritual, but of wild people and places But he is not a petty provincial demon who afflicts rustics and their cattle Though there is some hesitation between one Rudra and many Rudras, the destructive forces are unified in thought and the destroyer is not opposed to creation as a devil or as the principle of evil, but with profounder insight is recognized as the Lord and Law of all living things

But though the outline of Śiva is found in Vedic writings, later centuries added new features to his cult Chief among these is the worship of a column known as the Linga, the emblem under which he is now most commonly adored It is a phallic

¹ In the play *Mricchakatikā* or *The Clay Cart* (probably of the sixth century A.D.) a burglar invokes Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva, who is said to have taught different styles of house breaking

² A similarly strange collocation of attributes is found in Dakṣa's hymn to Śiva *Mahābhārata*, xii Sec 285

³ Atharva, v xi. 2 24

symbol though usually decent in appearance. The Vedas do not countenance this worship and it is not clear that it was even known to them¹. It is first enjoined in the Mahābhārata and there only in two passages² which appear to be late additions. The inference seems to be that it was accepted as part of Hinduism just about the time that our edition of the Mahābhārata was compiled³. The old theory that it was borrowed from aboriginal and especially from Dravidian tribes⁴ is now discredited. In the first place the instances cited of phallic worship among aboriginal tribes are not particularly numerous or striking. Secondly, linga worship though prevalent in the south is not confined to it but flourishes in all parts of India even in Assam and Nepal. Thirdly it is not connected with low castes with orgies with obscene or bloodthirsty rites or with anything which can be called un-Aryan. It forms part of the private devotions of the strictest Brahmans and despite the significance of the emblem the worship offered to it is perfectly decorous⁵. The evidence thus suggests that this cultus grew up among Brahmanical Hindus in the early centuries of our era. The idea that there was something divine in virility and generation already existed. The choice of the symbol—the stone pillar—may have been influenced by two circumstances. Firstly the Buddhist veneration of stūpas especially miniature stūpas must have made familiar the idea that a cone or column is a religious emblem⁶ and secondly the linga may be compared to

¹ It is not certain if the Śisupadevā whom Indra is asked to destroy in Rg. v. vii. 21. 5 and x. 90. 3 are priapic demons or worshippers of the phallus.

vii. acca. 202, 203, and xiii. acc. 14.

² The inscriptions of Camboja and Champa seem to be the best proof of the antiquity of Linga worship. A Cambojan inscription of about 550 A.D. records the dedication of a linga and the worship must have taken some time to reach Camboja from India. Some lingas discovered in India are said to be anterior to the Christian era.

³ See F. Kittel, *Ueber den Ursprung der Linga Kultus*, and Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 261.

⁴ As is also its appearance, as a rule. But there are exceptions to this. Some Hindus deny that the Linga is a phallic emblem. It is hardly possible to maintain this thesis in view of such passages as M. h. ii. xiii. 14 and the innumerable figures in which there are both a linga and a Yoni. But it is true that in its later forms the worship is purged of all grossness and that in its earlier forms the symbol adored was often a stūpa-like column or a pillar with figures on it.

Such as the relief from Amarāvati figured in Grünwedel, *Buddhist art in India*, p. 29 fig. 8, might easily be supposed to represent the worship of the linga, and some of Śākya pillars have been worshipped as lingas in later times.

the carved pillars or stone standards erected in honour of Vishnu. Some lingas are carved and bear one or four faces, thus entirely losing any phallic appearance. The wide extension of this cult, though its origin seems late, is remarkable. Something similar may be seen in the worship of Ganeśa: the first records of it are even later, but it is now universal in India.

It may seem strange that a religion whose outward ceremonies though unassuming and modest consist chiefly of the worship of the linga, should draw its adherents largely from the educated classes and be under no moral or social stigma. Yet as an idea, as a philosophy, Śivaism possesses truth and force. It gives the best picture which humanity has drawn of the Lord of this world, not indeed of the ideal to which the saint aspires, nor of the fancies with which hope and emotion people the spheres behind the veil, but of the force which rules the Universe as it is, which reproduces and destroys, and in performing one of these acts necessarily performs the other, seeing that both are but aspects of change. For all animal and human existence¹ is the product of sexual desire: it is but the temporary and transitory form of a force having neither beginning nor end but continually manifesting itself in individuals who must have a beginning and an end. This force, to which European taste bids us refer with such reticence, is the true creator of the world. Not only is it unceasingly performing the central miracle of producing new lives but it accompanies it by unnumbered accessory miracles, which provide the new born child with nourishment and make lowly organisms care for their young as if they were gifted with human intelligence. But the Creator is also the Destroyer, not in anger but by the very nature of his activity. When the series of changes culminates in a crisis and an individual breaks up, we see death and destruction, but in reality they occur throughout the process of growth. The egg is destroyed when the chicken is hatched: the embryo ceases to exist when the child is born, when the man comes into being, the child is no more. And for change, improvement and progress death is as necessary as birth. A world of immortals would be a static world.

When once the figure of Śiva has taken definite shape,

¹ But not of course the soul which, according to the general Indian idea, exists before and continues after the life of the body.

attributes and epithets are lavished on it in profusion. He is the great ascetic for asceticism in India means power and Śiva is the personification of the powers of nature. He may alternate strangely between austerities and wild debauch but the sentimentality of some Kṛishnaite sects is alien to him. He is a magician the lord of troops of spirits and thus draws into his circle all the old animistic worship. But he is also identified with Time (Mahākālā) and Death (Mr̥tyu) and as presiding over procreation he is Ardhanarēśvara half man half woman. Stories are invented or adapted to account for his various attributes and he is provided with a divine family. He dwells on Mount Kailāsa he has three eyes above the central one is the crescent of the moon and the stream of the Ganges descends from his braided hair his throat is blue and encircled by a serpent and a necklace of skulls. In his hands he carries a three-pronged trident and a drum. But the effigy or description varies for Śiva is adored under many forms. He is Mahādeva, the Great God Hara the Seizer Bhairava the terrible one Paśupati the Lord of cattle that is of human souls who are compared to beasts. Local gods and heroes are identified with him. Thus Gor Bābā¹, said to be a deified ghost of the aboriginal races, reappears as Gorēśvara and is counted a form of Śiva as is also Khandoha or Khande Rao a deity connected with dogs. Ganeśa the Lord of Hosts the God who removes obstacles and is represented with an elephant's head and accompanied by a rat is recognized as Śiva's son. Another son is Skanda or Kārtikeya the God of War a great deity in Ceylon and southern India. But more important both for the absorption of aboriginal cults and for its influence on speculation and morality is the part played by Śiva's wife or female counterpart.

The worship of goddesses though found in many sects is specially connected with Śivaism. A figure analogous to the Madonna the kind and compassionate goddess who helps and pities all appears in later Buddhism but for some reason this train of thought has not been usual in India. Lakshmi, Sarasvatī and Sitā are benevolent but they hold no great position in popular esteem² and the being who attracts millions of wor-

Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, I. 84; II. 219.

They are however of some importance in Viṣṇuīte theology. For instance according to the school of Pāṇinīya it is the Śakti (Śrī) who reveals the true doctrine to man. Viṣṇu is often said to have three consorts, Śrī, Bhū and Līlā.

shippers under such names as Kâlî, Dûrgâ, or Mahâdevî, though she has many forms and aspects, is most commonly represented as a terrible goddess who demands offerings of blood. The worship of this goddess or goddesses, for it is hard to say if she is one or many, is treated of in a separate chapter. Though in shrines dedicated to Śiva his female counterpart or energy (Śakti) also receives recognition, yet she is revered as the spouse of her lord to whom honour is primarily due. But in Śâktist worship adoration is offered to the Śakti as being the form in which his power is made manifest or even as the essential God-head.

3

Let us now pass on to Vishnu. Though not one of the great gods of the Veda, he is mentioned fairly often and with respect. Indian commentators and comparative mythologists agree that he is a solar deity. His chief exploit is that he took (or perhaps in the earlier version habitually takes) three strides. This was originally a description of the sun's progress across the firmament but grew into a myth which relates that when the earth was conquered by demons, Vishnu became incarnate as a dwarf and induced the demon king to promise him as much space as he could measure in three steps. Then, appearing in his true form, he strode across earth and heaven and recovered the world for mankind. His special character as the Preserver is already outlined in the Veda. He is always benevolent; he took his three steps for the good of men; he established and preserves the heavens and earth. But he is not the principal solar deity of the Rîg Veda. Sûrya, Savitri and Pushan receive more invocations. Though one hymn says that no one knows the limits of his greatness, other passages show that he has no pre-eminence, and even in the Mahâbhârata and the Vishnu-Purâna itself he is numbered among the Âdityas or sons of Aditi. In the Brâhmanas, he is somewhat more important than in the Rîg Veda¹, though he has not yet attained to any position like that which he afterwards occupies.

Just as for Śiva, so for Vishnu we have no clear record of the steps by which he advanced from a modest rank to the

¹ *E.g.* Śat Brâh 1.2.5. See also the strange legend *ib. xi. 1.1* where Vishnu is described as the best of the gods but is eaten by Indra. He is frequently (*e.g.* in the Śata Brâh) stated to be identical with the sacrifice, and this was probably one of the reasons for his becoming prominent.

position of having but one rival in the popular esteem. But the lines on which the change took place are clear. Even in his own Church Viṣṇu himself claims comparatively little attention. He is not a force like Śiva that makes and mars but a benevolent and retiring personality who keeps things as they are. His worship as distinguished from that of his incarnations is not conspicuous in modern India especially in the north. In the south he is less overshadowed by Kṛishṇa and many great temples have been erected in his honour. In Travancore which is formally dedicated to him as his special domain he is adored under the name of Padmanabha. But his real claim to reverence, his appeal to the Indian heart is due to the fact that certain deified human heroes particularly Rāma and Kṛishṇa are identified with him.

Deification is common in India¹. It exists to the present day and even defunct Europeans do not escape its operation. In modern times when the idea of reincarnation had become familiar eminent men like Caitanya or Vallabhācārya were declared after their death to be embodiments of Kṛishṇa without more ado but in earlier ages the process was probably double. First of all the departed hero became a powerful ghost or deity in his own right and then this deity was identified with a Brahmanic god. Many examples prove that a remarkable man receives worship after death quite apart from any idea of incarnation.

The incarnations of Viṣṇu are most commonly given as ten² but are not all of the same character. The first five namely the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-Lion and Dwarf are mythical and due to his identification with supernatural creatures playing a benevolent rôle in legends with which he had originally no connection. The sixth however Paraśa-rāma or Rāma with the axe may contain historical elements. He is represented as a militant Brahman who in the second age of the world extermin

¹ See many modern examples in Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk Lore of Northern India*, chap. IV and *Census of India*, 1901 vol. VI. Bengal, pp. 190-8 where are described various deified heroes who are adored in Bengal such as Govind (a hero), Ramesh Karik, Lark, Amar Singh, and Gobind Raut (a slayer of tigers). Compare too the worship of Gopi Nath and Zinda K. Hans in the Panjab as described in *Census of India*, 1901, vol. XVII. pp. 118-9.

² The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I. III) and the Bhakti-mālā (see J.R.A.S. 1906 pp. 321 ff.) give longer lists of 22 and 25, and the Pañcorātra gives 39. See Ahirbudhaya Smṛiti, v. 50-55.

ated the Kshatriyas, and after reclaiming Malabar from the sea, settled it with Brahmans. This legend clearly refers to a struggle for supremacy between the two upper castes, though we may doubt if the triumphs attributed to the priestly champion have any foundation in fact. The Râmâyana¹ contains a singular account of a contest between this Râma and the greater hero of the same name in which Paraśu-râma admits the other's superiority. That is to say an epic edited under priestly supervision relates how the hero-god of the warriors vanquishes the hero-god of the priests, and this hero-god of the warriors is then worshipped by common consent as the greater divinity, but under priestly patronage. The tenacity and vitality of the Brahmans enabled them ultimately to lead the conqueror captive, and Râma-candra became a champion of Brahmanism as much as Paraśu-râma.

Very interesting too is the ninth avatâra (to leave for a moment the strict numerical order) or Buddha². The reason assigned in Brahmanic literature for Vishnu's appearance in this character is that he wished to mislead the enemies of the gods by false teaching, or that out of compassion for animals he preached the abolition of Vedic sacrifices. Neither explanation is very plausible and it is pretty clear that in the period when degenerate Buddhism offered no objection to deification and mythology, the Brahmans sanctioned the worship of the Buddha under their auspices. But they did so only in a half-hearted way. The Buddha was so important a personage that he had to be explained by the intervention, kindly or hostile, of a deity³.

In his tenth incarnation or Kalkî⁴, which has yet to take

¹ Book I, cantos 74-76

² A parallel phenomenon is the belief found in Bali, that Buddha is Śiva's brother

³ For Brahmanic ideas about Buddha see Vishnu Purâṇa, III 18. The Bhâgavata Purâṇa, I 3 24 seems to make the Buddha incarnation future. It also counts Kapila and Rishabha, apparently identical with the founder of the Sâṅkhya and the first Jain saint, as incarnations. The Padma Purâṇa seems to ascribe not only Buddhism but the Mâyâ doctrine of Śankara to delusions deliberately inspired by gods. I have not been able to find the passage in the printed edition of the Purâṇa but it is quoted in Sanskrit by Aufrecht, *Cat Cod Bib Bodl* p 14, and Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, p 198.

⁴ See Norman in *Trans Third Int Congress of Religions*, II p 85. In the *Ind Ant* 1918, p 145 Jayaswal tries to prove that Kalkî is a historical personage and identical with King Yaśodharman of Central India (about A.D. 500) and that the idea of

place Vishnu will appear as a Messiah a conception possibly influenced by Persian ideas. Here where we are in the realm of pure imagination we see clearly what the signs of his avatāras are supposed to be. His mission is to sweep away the wicked and to ensure the triumph of the pious but he comes as a warrior and a horseman not as a teacher and if he protects the good he does so by destroying evil. He has thus all the attributes of a kshatriya hero and that is as a matter of fact the real character of the two most important avatāras to which we now turn Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

Rāma often distinguished as Rāma-candra is usually treated as the seventh incarnation and anterior to Kṛṣṇa for he was born in the second age of this rapidly deteriorating world whereas Kṛṣṇa did not appear until the third. But his deification is later than that of Kṛṣṇa and probably an imitation of it. He was the son of Daśaratha King of Ayodhyā or Oudh but was driven into banishment by a palace intrigue. He married Sītā daughter of the King of Mithilā. She was carried off by Rāvana the demon tyrant of Ceylon and Rāma re-captured her with the aid of Hanuman King of the Monkeys and his hosts¹. Is there any kernel of history in this story? An examination of Hindu legends suggests that they usually preserve names and genealogies correctly but distort facts and fantastically combine independent narratives. Rāma was a semi-divine hero in the tales of ancient Oudh based on a real personality and Ceylon was colonized by Indians of Aryan speech². But can we assume that a King of Oudh really led an expedition in the far south with the aid of ape like aborigines?

his being a *ful re saviour* is late. This theory offers difficulties, for firstly there is no proof that the passages of the Mahābhārata which mention Kalki (iii. 100, 12101; iii. 101, 13111; xii. 310, 12968) are additions later than Yāśodharman and secondly if Kalki was first a historical figure and then projected into the future we should expect to hear that he will come *again* but such language is not quoted. On the other hand it seems quite likely (1) that there was an old tradition about a future saviour called Kalki, (2) that Yāśodharman after defeating the Huns assumed the rôle (3) and that when it was found that the golden age had not recommenced he was forgotten (as many pseudo-Messiahs have been) and Kalki again became a hope for the future. Vincent Smith (*Hist. of India* ed. iii. p. 370) intimates that Yāśodharman performed considerable exploits but was inordinately boastful.

¹ Another version of the story which omits the expedition to Laṅkā and makes Sītā the sister of Rāma is found in the Daśaratha Jātaka (611).

² But this colonization is attributed by tradition to Vijaya, not Rāma.

It is doubtful, and the narrative of the Râmâyana reads like poetic invention rather than distorted history. And yet, what can have prompted the legend except the occurrence of some such expedition? In Râma's wife Sîtâ, seem to be combined an agricultural goddess and a heroine of ancient romance, embodying the Hindu ideal of the true wife.

We have no record of the steps by which Râma and Krishna were deified, although in different parts of the epic they are presented in very different aspects, sometimes as little more than human, sometimes as nothing less than the Supreme Deity. But it can hardly be doubted that this deification owes something to the example of Buddhism. It may be said that the development of both Buddhism and Hinduism in the centuries immediately preceding and following our era gives parallel manifestations of the same popular tendency to deify great men. This is true, but the non-Buddhist forms of Indian religion while not objecting to deification did not particularly encourage it. But in this period, Buddhism and Jainism were powerful both of them sanctioned the veneration of great teachers and, as they did not recognize sacrifice or adoration of gods, this veneration became the basis of their ceremonies and easily passed into worship. The Buddhists are not responsible for the introduction of deification, but the fact that it was to some extent the basis of their public ceremonies must have gone far to make the worship of Râma and Krishna seem natural.

It is commonly said that whereas the whole divine nature of Vishnu was embodied in Krishna, Râma was only a partial incarnation. Half the god's essence took human form in him, the other half being distributed among his brothers. Krishna is a greater figure in popular esteem and receives the exclusive devotion of more worshippers. The name of Râma commands the reverence of most Hindus, and has a place in their prayers, but his figure has not been invested with the attributes (often of dubious moral value) which most attract sectarian devotion. His worship combines easily with the adoration of other deities. The great temple of Ramesvaram on Adam's Bridge is dedicated not to Râma himself but to the linga which he erected there, and Tulsî Das, the author of the Hindi Râmâyana, while invoking Râma as the Supreme Lord and redeemer of the world,

emphatically states¹ that his worship is not antagonistic to that of Śiva

No inscriptions nor ancient references testify to the worship of Rāma before our era and in the subsequent centuries two phases can be distinguished. First Rāma is a great hero an incarnation of Viṣṇu for a particular purpose and analogous to the Vāmana or any other avatāra deserving as such of all respect but still not the object of any special cult. This is the view taken of Rāma in the Mahābhārata the Purāṇas the Rāghavamśa and those parts of the Rāmāyaṇa which go beyond it are probably late additions.² But secondly Rāma becomes for his worshippers the supreme deity. Rāmānuja (on the Vedānta sūtras II 42) mentions him and Kṛiṣṇa as two great incarnations in which the supreme being became manifest and since Kṛiṣṇa was certainly worshipped at this period as identical with the All God it would appear that Rāma held the same position. Yet it was not until the fourteenth or fifteenth century that he became for many sects the central and ultimate divine figure.

In the more liberal sects the worship of Rāma passes easily into theism and it is the direct parent of the Kāhīrpanth and Sikhism but unlike Kṛiṣṇaism it does not lead to erotic excess. Rāma personifies the ideal of chivalry Sītā of chastity. Less edifying forms of worship may attract more attention but it must not be supposed that Rāma is relegated to the penumbra of philosophic thought. If anything so multiplex as Hinduism can be said to have a watchword it is the cry Rām Rām. The story of his adventures has travelled even further than the hero himself and is known not only from Kashmir to Cape Comorin but from Bombay to Java and Indo-China where it is a common subject of art. In India the Rāmāyaṇa is a favourite recitation among all classes and dramatized versions of various episodes are performed as religious plays. Though two late Upanishads the Rāmapurvatāpanīya and Rāmāntaratāpanīya extol Rāma as the Supreme Being there is no Rāmapurāṇa. The fact is significant as showing that his worship did not possess precisely those features of priestly sectarianism which mark the Purāṇas and perhaps that it is later than the

¹ See especially book VI. p. 67 in Growse's *Translation*.

² See Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* vol. IV especially pp. 441-401.

Purânas But it has inspired a large literature, more truly popular than anything that the Purânas contain Thus we have the Sanskrit Râmâyana itself, the Hindi Râmâyana, the Tamil Râmâyana of Kamban, and works like the Adhyâtma-Râmâyana and Yoga-Vasistha-Râmâyana¹ Of all these, the Râmâyana of Tulsî Das is specially remarkable and I shall speak of it later at some length

4

Krishna, the other great incarnation of Vishnu, is one of the most conspicuous figures in the Indian pantheon, but his historical origin remains obscure The word which means black or dark blue occurs in the Rig Veda as the name of an otherwise unknown person In the Chândogya Upanishad², Krishna, the son of Devakî, is mentioned as having been instructed by the sage Ghora of the Ângirasa clan, and it is probably implied that Krishna too belonged to that clan³ Later sectarian writers never quote this verse, but their silence may be due to the fact that the Upanishad does not refer to Krishna as if he were a deity, and merely says that he received from Ghora instruction after which he never thirsted again The purport of it was that the sacrifice may be performed without rites, the various parts being typified by ordinary human actions, such as hunger, eating, laughter, liberality, righteousness, etc This doctrine has some resemblance to Buddhist language⁴ and if this Krishna is really the ancient hero out of whom the later deity was evolved, there may be an allusion to some simple form of worship which rejected ceremonial and was practised by the tribes to whom Krishna belonged I shall recur to the question of these tribes

¹ Ekanâtha, who lived in the sixteenth century, calls the Adhyâtma R a modern work See Bhandarkar, *Vaishn and Saivism*, page 48 The Yoga Vasistha R purports to be instruction given by Vasistha to Râma who wishes to abandon the world Its date is uncertain but it is quoted by authors of the fourteenth century It is very popular, especially in south India, where an abridgment in Tamil called Jñâna Vasistha is much read Its doctrine appears to be Vedântist with a good deal of Buddhist philosophy Salvation is never to think that pleasures and pains are "mine"

² Chând Up III 17 6

³ The Kaush Brâhm says that Krishna was an Ângirasa xxx. g The Anukramani says that the Krishna of Rig Veda, VIII 74 was an Ângirasa For Ghora Ângirasa "the dread descendent of the Ângirases" see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s v

⁴ *Eg Dig Nik v* The Pâncarâtra expressly states that Yoga is worship of the heart and self sacrifice, being thus a counterpart of the external sacrifice (bâhya yâga)

and the Bhāgavata sect below but in this section I am concerned with the personality of Kṛishṇa.

Vāsudeva is a well known name of Kṛishṇa and a sūtra of Pāṇini¹, especially if taken in conjunction with the comment of Patanjali appears to assert that it is not a clan name but the name of a god. If so Vāsudeva must have been recognized as a god in the fourth century B.C. He is mentioned in inscriptions which appear to date from about the second century B.C.² and in the last book of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka³ which however is a later addition of uncertain date.

The name Kṛishṇa occurs in Buddhist writings in the form Kaṇha phonetically equivalent to Kṛishṇa. In the Dīgha Nikāya⁴ we hear of the clan of the Kanhāyanas (= Kāraṇāyanas) and of one Kaṇha who became a great sage. This person may be the Kṛishṇa of the Rīg Veda but there is no proof that he is the same as our Kṛishṇa.

The Ghata-Jātaka (No. 454) gives an account of Kṛishṇa's childhood and subsequent exploits which in many points corresponds with the Brahmanic legends of his life and contains several familiar incidents and names such as Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Kamsa. Yet it presents many peculiarities and is either an independent version or a misrepresentation of a popular story that had wandered far from its home. Jain tradition also shows that these tales were popular and were worked up into different forms for the Jains have an elaborate system of ancient patriarchs which includes Vāsudevas and Baladevas. Kṛishṇa is the ninth of the Black Vāsudevas⁵ and is connected with Dvāravati or Dvārakā. He will become the twelfth tīrthankara of the next world period and a similar position will be attained by Devaki, Rohini, Baladeva and Javakumāra, all members of his family. This is a striking proof of the popularity of the Kṛishṇa legend outside the Brahmanic religion.

¹ Pāp. iv. 3. 28, *Vāsudevasyaśābhyām* var. See Bhattacharya, *Laushtanism and Śaivism*, p. 3 and *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 163. Sūtra 25 just above appears to point to ² *in* faith or devotion, felt for this Vāsudeva.

³ Especially the Deenagar column. See Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 156 and various articles in *J.R.A.S.* 1909-10.

⁴ i. 1. vi.

⁵ III. I. 23. Ulāro so Kaṇho lā ahoṣi. But this may refer to the Rishi mentioned in *R.V.* viii. 74 who has not necessarily anything to do with the god Kṛishṇa.

See Hemacandra *Abhidhānasūtrāntīkā* Ed. Boettlingk and Rien, p. 123, and Barnett's translation of the *Antiqua Dāśa*, pp. 13-15 and 67-82.

No references to Krishna except the above have been found in the earlier Upanishads and Sûtras. He is not mentioned in Manu but in one aspect or another he is the principal figure in the Mahâbhârata, yet not exactly the hero. The Râmâyana would have no plot without Râma, but the story of the Mahâbhârata would not lose its unity if Krishna were omitted. He takes the side of the Pândavas, and is sometimes a chief sometimes a god but he is not essential to the action of the epic.

The legend represents him as the son of Vasudeva, who belonged to the Sâttvata sept¹ of the Yâdava tribe, and of his wife Devakî. It had been predicted to Kamsa, king of Mathura (Muttra), that one of her sons would kill him. He therefore slew her first six children. The seventh, Balarâma, who is often counted as an incarnation of Vishnu, was transferred by divine intervention to the womb of Rohinî. Krishna, the eighth, escaped by more natural methods. His father was able to give him into the charge of Nanda, a herdsman, and his wife Yâsodâ who brought him up at Gokula and Vrindâvana. Here his youth was passed in sporting with the Gopîs or milkmaids, of whom he is said to have married a thousand. He had time, however, to perform acts of heroism, and after killing Kamsa, he transported the inhabitants of Mathura to the city of Dvâarakâ which he had built on the coast of Gujarat. He became king of the Yâdavas and continued his mission of clearing the earth of tyrants and monsters. In the struggle between the Pândavas and the sons of Dhritarâshtra he championed the cause of the former, and after the conclusion of the war retired to Dvâarakâ. Internecine conflict broke out among the Yâdavas and annihilated the race. Krishna himself withdrew to the forest and was killed by a hunter called Jaras (old age) who shot him supposing him to be a deer.

In the Mahâbhârata and several Purânas this bare outline is distended with a plethora of miraculous incident remarkable even in Indian literature, and almost all possible forms of divine and human activity are attributed to this many-sided figure. We may indeed suspect that his personality is dual even in the simplest form of the legend for the scene changes from Mathurâ to Dvâarakâ, and his character is not quite the same in the two regions. It is probable that an ancient military hero of the west

¹ Apparently the same as the Vrishnis

has been combined with a deity or perhaps more than one deity. The pile of story sentiment and theology which ages have heaped up round Krishna's name represents him in three principal aspects. Firstly he is a warrior who destroys the powers of evil. Secondly, he is associated with love in all its forms ranging from amorous sport to the love of God in the most spiritual and mystical sense. Thirdly he is not only a deity but he actually becomes God in the European and also in the pantheistic acceptation of the word and is the centre of a philosophic theology.

The first of these aspects is clearly the oldest and it is here if anywhere, that we may hope to find some fragments of history. But the embellishments of poets and story tellers have been so many that we can only point to features which may indicate a substratum of fact. In the legend Krishna assists the Pāṇḍavas against the Kauravas. Now many think that the Pāṇḍavas represent a second and later immigration of Aryans into India composed of tribes who had halted in the Himalayas and perhaps acquired some of the customs of the inhabitants, including polyandry for the five Pāṇḍavas had one wife in common between them. Also the meaning of the name Krishna black suggests that he was a chief of some non Aryan tribe. It is therefore possible that one source of the Krishna myth is that a body of invading Aryans described in the legend as the Pāṇḍavas who had not exactly the same laws and beliefs as those already established in Hindustan were aided by a powerful aboriginal chief just as the Sisodias in Rajputana were aided by the Bhils. It is possible too that Krishna's tribe may have come from Kabul or other mountainous districts of the north west although one of the most definite points in the legend is his connection with the coast town of Dvārakā. The fortifications of this town and the fruitless efforts of the demon king Salva to conquer it by sea are described in the Mahābhārata¹ but the narrative is surrounded by an atmosphere of magic and miracle rather than of history².

¹ III. xv.

² It would seem that the temple of Dvārakā was built between the composition of the narrative in the Mahābhārata and of the Vishnu Purāṇa, for while the former says the whole town was destroyed by the sea, the latter says the temple and says that whoever visits it is freed from all his sins. See Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa* v. p. 153.

Though it would not be reasonable to pick out the less fantastic parts of the Krishna legend and interpret them as history, yet we may fairly attach significance to the fact that many episodes represent him as in conflict with Brahmanic institutions and hardly maintaining the position of Vishnu incarnate¹ Thus he plunders Indra's garden and defeats the gods who attempt to resist him He fights with Śiva and Skanda He burns Benares and all its inhabitants Yet he is called Upendra, which, whatever other explanations sectarian ingenuity may invent, can hardly mean anything but the Lesser Indra, and he fills the humble post of Arjuna's charioteer His kinsmen seem to have been of little repute, for part of his mission was to destroy his own clan and after presiding over its annihilation in internecine strife, he was slain himself In all this we see dimly the figure of some aboriginal hero who, though ultimately canonized, represented a force not in complete harmony with Brahmanic civilization The figure has also many solar attributes but these need not mean that its origin is to be sought in a sun myth, but rather that, as many early deities were forms of the sun, solar attributes came to be a natural part of divinity and were ascribed to the deified Krishna just as they were to the deified Buddha²

Some authors hold that the historical Krishna was a teacher, similar to Zarathustra, and that though of the military class he was chiefly occupied in founding or supporting what was afterwards known as the religion of the Bhâgavatas, a theistic system inculcating the worship of one God, called Bhagavat, and perhaps identical with the Sun It is probable that Krishna

¹ A most curious chapter of the Vishnu Purâna (iv 13) contains a vindication of Krishna's character and a picture of old tribal life

² Neither can I agree with some scholars that Krishna is mainly and primarily a deity of vegetation All Indian ideas about the Universe and God emphasize the interaction of life and death, growth and decay, spring and winter Krishna is undoubtedly associated with life, growth and generation, but so is Śiva the destroyer, or rather the transmuter The account in the Mahâbhâshya (on Pân III 1 26) of the masque representing the slaughter of Kamsa by Krishna is surely a slight foundation for the theory that Krishna was a nature god It might be easily argued that Christ is a vegetation spirit, for not only is Easter a spring festival but there are numerous allusions to sowing and harvest in the Gospels and Paul illustrates the resurrection by the germination of corn It is a mistake to seek for uniformity in the history of religion There were in ancient times different types of mind which invented different kinds of gods, just as now professors invent different theories about gods

the hero was connected with the worship of a special deity but I see no evidence that he was primarily a teacher¹. In the earlier legends he is a man of arms. In the later he is not one who devotes his life to teaching but a forceful personage who explains the nature of God and the universe at the most unexpected moments. Now the founders of religions such as Mahāvīra and Buddha preserve their character as teachers even in legend and do not accumulate miscellaneous heroic exploits. Similarly modern founders of sects like Caitanya though revered as incarnations still retain their historical attributes. But on the other hand many men of action have been deified not because they taught anything but because they seemed to be more than human forces. Rāma is a classical example of such deification and many local deities can be shown to be warriors, bandits and hunters whose powers inspired respect. It is said that there is a disposition in the Bombay Presidency to deify the Maratha leader Śhivaji².

In his second aspect Kṛishṇa is a pastoral deity sporting among nymphs and cattle. It is possible that this Kṛishṇa is in his origin distinct from the violent and tragic hero of Dvārakā. The two characters have little in common except their lawlessness and the date and locality of the two cycles of legend are different. But the death of Kāṇṇa which is one of the oldest incidents in the story (for it is mentioned in the Mahābhāshya³) belongs to both and Kāṇṇa is consistently connected with Muttra. The Mahābhārata is mainly concerned with Kṛishṇa the warrior; the few allusions in it to the freaks of the pastoral Kṛishṇa occur in passages suspected of being late interpolations and even if they are genuine show that little attention was paid to his youth. But in later works the relative importance is reversed and the figure of the amorous herdsmen almost banishes the warrior. We can trace the growth of this figure in the sculptures of the sixth century in the Vishnu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas and the Gītā govinda (written about 1170). Even later is the worship of Rādhā, Kṛishṇa's mistress, as a portion of the

¹ The Kṛishṇa of the Chāndogya Upanishad receives instruction but it is not said that he was himself a teacher.

² Hopkins, *India Old and New*, p. 103.

³ Bhandarkar, Allusion to Kṛishṇa in Mahābhāshya, *Ind. Ant.* 1874, p. 14. For the pastoral Kṛishṇa see Bhandarkar, *Janapada and Śaivism*, chap. ix.

deity, who is supposed to have divided himself into male and female halves¹ The birth and adventures of the pastoral Krishna are located in the land of Braj, the district round Muttra and among the tribe of the Âbhîras, but the warlike Krishna is connected with the west, although his exploits extend to the Ganges valley² The Âbhîras, now called Ahîrs, were nomadic herdsmen who came from the west and their movements between Kathiawar and Muttra may have something to do with the double location of the Krishna legend

Both archæology and historical notices tell us something of the history of Muttra It was a great Buddhist and Jain centre, as the statues and vihâras found there attest Ptolemy calls it the city of the gods Fa-Hsien (400 A D) describes it as Buddhist, but that faith was declining at the time of Hsuan Chuang's visit (c 630 A D) The sculptural remains also indicate the presence of Græco-Bactrian influence We need not therefore feel surprise if we find in the religious thought of Muttra elements traceable to Greece, Persia or Central Asia Some claim that Christianity should be reckoned among these elements and I shall discuss the question elsewhere Here I will only say that such ideas as were common to Christianity and to the religions of Greece and western Asia probably did penetrate to India by the northern route, but of specifically Christian ideas I see no proof It is true that the pastoral Krishna is unlike all earlier Indian deities, but then no close parallel to him can be adduced from elsewhere, and, take him as a whole, he is a decidedly un-Christian figure The resemblance to Christianity consists in the worship of a divine child, together with his mother But this feature is absent in the New Testament and seems to have been borrowed from paganism by Christianity

The legends of Muttra show even clearer traces than those already quoted of hostility between Krishna and Brahmanism He forbids the worship of Indra³, and when Indra in anger sends down a deluge of rain, he protects the country by holding

¹ The divinity of Râdhâ is taught specially in the *Brahmavaivarta Purâna* and the *Nârada pañcarâtra*, also called *Jñânâmr̥tasâra* She is also described in the *Gopâla tâpaniya Upanishad* of unknown date

² But Kamsa appears in both series of legends, i e, in the *Ghata Jâtaka* which contains no hint of the pastoral legends but is a variant of the story of the warlike Krishna

³ *Vishnu Purâna*, v 10, 11 from which the quotations in the text are taken Much of it is repeated in the *Harivamsa* See for instance H 3808

up over it the hill of Cōburdhan which is still one of the great centres of pilgrimage¹. The language which the Viṣṇu Purāṇa attributes to him is extremely remarkable. He interrupts a sacrifice which his fosterfather is offering to Indra and says:

We have neither fields nor houses: we wander about happily wherever we list, travelling in our waggons. What have we to do with Indra? Cattle and mountains are (our) gods. Brahmanas offer worship with prayer, cultivators of the earth adore their landmarks, but we who tend our herds in the forests and mountains should worship them and our kine.

This passage suggests that Kṛishṇa represents a tribe of highland nomads who worshipped mountains and cattle and came to terms with the Brahmanic ritual only after a struggle. The worship of mountain spirits is common in Central Asia, but I do not know of any evidence for cattle worship in those regions. Clemens of Alexandria² writing at the end of the second century A.D. tells us that the Indians worshipped Herakles and Pan. The pastoral Kṛishṇa has considerable resemblance to Pan or a Faun, but no representations of such beings are recorded from Greco-Indian sculptures. Several Bacchic groups have however been discovered in Gandhara and also at Mūṭṭra³ and Megasthenes recognized Dionysus in some Indian deity. Though the Bacchic revels and mysteries do not explain the pastoral element in the Kṛishṇa legend, they offer a parallel to some of its other features, such as the dancing and the crowd of women, and I am inclined to think that such Greek ideas may have germinated and proved fruitful in Mūṭṭra. The Greek king Menander is said to have occupied the city (c. 155 B.C.) and the sculptures found there indicate that Greek artistic forms were used to express Indian ideas. There may have been a similar fusion in religion.

In any case Buddhism was predominant in Mūṭṭra for several centuries. It no doubt forbade the animal sacrifices of

¹ The Mūṭṭra cycle of legend cannot be very late for the inscription of Gāṇḍhārī in Champā (811 A.D.) speaks of Nārīyana holding up Gōbeardhan and a Cambodian inscription of Prea Eynkōey (970 A.D.) speaks of the banks of the Yamunā where Kṛishṇa sported. These legends must have been prevalent in India some time before they travelled so far. Some of them are depicted on a pillar found at Mandor and possibly referable to the fourth century A.D. See *Arch. Survey Ind.* 1905-1906, p. 135.

² Strom. III. 191. See M. Crinidie, *Ancient India*, p. 183.

³ Vincent Smith, *Fine Arts India*, pp. 121-123.

the Brahmans and favoured milder rites. It may even offer some explanation for the frivolous character of much in the Krishna legend¹. Most Brahmanic deities, extraordinary as their conduct often is, are serious and imposing. But Buddhism claimed for itself the serious side of religion and while it tolerated local godlings treated them as fairies or elves. It was perhaps while Krishna was a humble rustic deity of this sort, with no claim to represent the Almighty, that there first gathered round him the cycle of light love-stories which has clung to him ever since. In the hands of the Brahmans his worship has undergone the strangest variations which touch the highest and lowest planes of Hinduism, but the Muttra legend still retains its special note of pastoral romance, and exhibits Krishna in two principal characters, as the divine child and as the divine lover. The mysteries of birth and of sexual union are congenial topics to Hindu theology, but in the cult of Muttra we are not concerned with reproduction as a world force, but simply with childhood and love as emotional manifestations of the deity. The same ideas occur in Christianity, and even in the Gospels Christ is compared to a bridegroom, but the Krishna legend is far more gross and naïve.

The infant Krishna is commonly adored in the form known as Makhan Chor or the Butter Thief². This represents him as a crawling child holding out one hand full of curds or butter which he has stolen. We speak of idolizing a child, and when Hindu women worship this image they are unconsciously generalizing the process and worshipping childhood, its wayward pranks as well as its loveable simplicity, and though it is hard for a man to think of the freaks of the butter thief as a manifestation of divinity, yet clearly there is an analogy between these childish escapades and the caprices of mature deities, which are respectfully described as mysteries. If one admits the worship of the Bambino, it is not unreasonable to include in it admiration of his rogueries, and the tender playfulness which is permitted to enter into this cult appeals profoundly to

¹ In the Sutta nipāta Māra, the Evil One is called Kanha, the phonetic equivalent of Krishna in Prākṛit. Can it be that Māra and his daughters have anything to do with Krishna and the Gopis?

² Compare the Greek stories of the infant Hermes who steals Apollo's cattle and invents the lyre. Compare too, as having a general resemblance to fantastic Indian legends, the story of young Hephæstus.

Indian women Images of the Makhān Cher are sold by thousands in the streets of Muttra

Even more popular is the image known as *Kanhaya* which represents the god as a young man playing the flute as he stands in a careless attitude which has something of Hellenic grace Kṛishṇa in this form is the beloved of the Gopīs or milk maids of the land of Braj and the spouse of Rādhā though she had no monopoly of him The stories of his frolics with these damsels and the rites instituted in memory thereof have brought his worship into merited discredit Kṛishṇaism offers the most extensive manifestation to be found in the world of what W James calls the theopathic condition as illustrated by nuns like Marguérite Marie Alacoque Saint Gertrude and the more distinguished Saint Theresa To be loved by God and loved by him to distraction (*jusqu'à la folie*) Margaret melted away with love at the thought of such a thing She said to God Hold back O my God these torrents which overwhelm me or else enlarge my capacity for their reception ¹ These are not the words of the Gītā govinda or the Prem Sagar as might be supposed but of a Catholic Bishop describing the transports of Sister Marguérite Marie and they illustrate the temper of Kṛishṇa's worshippers But the verses of the Marathi poet Tukaram who lived about 1600 A.D. and sang the praises of Kṛishṇa rise above this sentimentality though he uses the language of love In a letter to Silvaji, who desired to see him he wrote As a chaste wife longs only to see her lord such am I to Viṭṭhala² All the world is to me Viṭṭhala and nothing else thee also I behold in him He also wrote elsewhere he that taketh the unprotected to his heart and doeth to a servant the same kindness as to his own children is assuredly the image of God More recently Rāmakṛishṇa, whose sayings breathe a wide intelligence as well as a wide charity has given this religion of love an expression which if somewhat too sexual to be perfectly in accordance with western taste is nearly related to emotional Christianity A true lover sees his god as his nearest and dearest relative he writes just as the shepherd women of

Mgr Bongard, *Histoire de la Bienheureuse Marguérite Marie*. Quoted by W James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 343.

Viṭṭhal or Viṭṭoba is a local deity of Pandharpur in the Deccan (perhaps a deified Brahmā of the place) now identified with Kṛishṇa.

Vṛindâvana saw in Krishna not the Lord of the Universe but their own beloved. The knowledge of God may be likened to a man, while the love of God is like a woman. Knowledge has entry only up to the outer rooms of God, and no one can enter into the inner mysteries of God save a lover. Knowledge and love of God are ultimately one and the same. There is no difference between pure knowledge and pure love¹."

These extracts show how Krishna as the object of the soul's desire assumes the place of the Supreme Being or God. But this surprising transformation² is not specially connected with the pastoral and erotic Krishna. The best known and most thorough-going exposition of his divinity is found in the Bhagavad-gîtâ, which represents him as being in his human aspect, a warrior and the charioteer of Arjuna. Probably some seventy-five millions to-day worship Krishna, especially under the name of Hari, as God in the pantheistic sense and naturally the more his identity with the supreme spirit is emphasized, the dimmer grow the legendary features which mark the hero of Muttra and Dvârakâ, and the human element in him is reduced to this very important point that the tie uniting him to his worshippers is one of sentiment and affection.

In the following chapters I shall treat of this worship when describing the various sects which practise it. A question of some importance for the history of Krishna's deification is the meaning of the name Vâsudeva. One explanation makes it a patronymic, son of Vasudeva, and supposes that when this prince Vâsudeva was deified his name, like Râma, was transferred to the deity. The other regards Vâsudeva as a name for the deity used by the Sâttvata clan and supposes that when Krishna was deified this already well-known divine name was bestowed on him. There is much to be said for this latter theory. As we have seen the Jains give the title Vâsudeva to a series of supermen, and a remarkable legend states³ that a king called

¹ *Life and Sayings of Râmakrishna*. Trans. F. Max Muller, pp. 137-8. The English poet Crashaw makes free use of religious metaphors drawn from love and even Francis Thompson represents God as the lover of the Soul, *e.g.* in his poem *Any Saint*.

² Though surprising, it can be paralleled in modern times for Kabîr (c. 1400) was identified by his later followers with the supreme spirit.

³ Mahâbhâr Sabhâp. xiv. Vishnu Pur. v. xxiv. The name also occurs in the Taittiriya Âranyaka (i. 31) a work of moderate if not great antiquity. Nâzâyanâya vidmahe Vasudevâya dhîmahî.

Paundraka who pretended to be a deity used the title Vāsudeva and ordered Kṛṣṇa to cease using it for which impertinence he was slain. This clearly implies that the title was something which could be detached from Kṛṣṇa and not a mere patronymic. Indian writings countenance both etymologies of the word. As the name of the deity they derive it from *vas* to dwell, he in whom all things abide and who abides in all¹.

5

Śiva and Viṣṇu are not in their nature different from other Indian ideas, high or low. They are the offspring of philosophic and poetic minds playing with a luxuriant popular mythology. But even in the epics they have already become fixed points in a flux of changing fancies and serve as receptacles in which the most diverse notions are collected and stored. Nearly all philosophy and superstition finds its place in Hinduism by being connected with one or both of them. The two worships are not characteristic of different periods; they coexist when they first become known to us as they do at the present day and in essential doctrines they are much alike. We have no name for this curious double theism in which each party describes its own deity as the supreme god or All-god, yet without denying the god of the other. Something similar might be produced in Christianity if different Churches were avowedly to worship different persons of the Trinity.

Śiva and Viṣṇu are sometimes contrasted and occasionally their worshippers quarrel². But the general inclination is rather

¹ See Viṣṇu Pur. vi. 5. See also Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I. pp. 16 and 17.

² Thus the Śaiva Purāṇa inveighs against the Mādhyama sect (xix. iii-xl.) and calls Viṣṇu the servant of Śiva; a Purāṇic legal work called the *Viddha Harita-Ramhitā* is said to contain a polemic against Śiva. Occasionally we hear of collisions between the followers of Viṣṇu and Śiva or the destruction of temples by hostile fanatics. But such conflicts take place most often not between widely different sects but between subdivisions of the same sect, e.g., Tēṅgalais and Vādāgalais. It would seem too that at present most Hindus of the higher caste avoid ostentatious membership of the modern sects, and though they may practise special devotion to either Viṣṇu or Śiva, yet they visit the temples of both deities when they go on pilgrimages. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya in his *Hindu Sects and Sects* says (p. 384) that aristocratic Brahmins usually keep in their private chapels both a saṅgṛāma, containing Viṣṇu and emblems representing Śiva and his spouse. Hence different observers vary in their estimates of the importance of sectarian divisions, some holding that sect is the essence of modern Hinduism and others that most educated Hindus do not worship a sectarian deity. The *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Part I. chap. xxix. contains some curious rules as to what deities should be worshipped by the various classes of men and spirits.

to make the two figures approximate by bestowing the same attributes on both. A deity must be able to satisfy emotional devotion hence the Tamil Śivāite says of Śiva the destroyer, "one should worship in supreme love him who does kindness to the soul." But then the feature in the world which most impresses the Hindu is the constant change and destruction, and this must find a place in the All-god. Hence the sportive kindly Krishna comes to be declared the destroyer of the worlds¹. It is as if in some vast Dravidian temple one wandered through two corridors differently ornamented and assigned to the priests of different rites but both leading to the same image. Hence it is not surprising to find that there is actually a deity if indeed the term is suitable, but European vocabularies hardly provide one which meets the case called Harihara (or Śankara-Nārāyana), that is Śiva and Vishnu combined. The Harivamsa contains a hymn addressed to him. fairly ancient sculptures attest the prevalence of his worship in the Deccan, especially at Badāmī, he was once the chief deity of Camboja and he is still popular in south India. Here besides being worshipped under his own name he has undergone a singular transformation and has probably been amalgamated with some aboriginal deity. Under the designation of Ayeṇār (said to be a corruption of Harihara) he is extensively worshipped as a village god and reputed to be the son of Śiva and Vishnu, the latter having kindly assumed the form of a woman to effect his birth.

Another form of this inclination to combine and unite the various manifestations of the Divine is the tendency to worship groups of gods, a practice as old as the Vedas. Thus many temples are dedicated to a group of five, namely, Śiva, Vishnu, Dûrgā, Ganēśa and the Sun and it is stated that every Hindu worships these five deities in his daily prayers². The Trimûrti, or figure of Brahmā, Śiva and Vishnu, illustrates the worship of groups. Its importance has sometimes been over-estimated by Europeans from an idea that it corresponded to the Christian Trinity, but in reality this triad is late and has little significance. No stress is laid on the idea of three in one and the number of persons can be increased. The Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa for instance adds Krishna to Brahmā, Śiva and Vishnu. The union

¹ Bhag. gītā, XI. 23-34

² See Śrīśa Chandra Vasu, *Daily practice of the Hindus*, p. 118

of three personalities is merely a way of summing up the chief attributes of the All-God. Thus the Vishṇu Purāṇa¹ extols Viṣṇu as being 'Hiranyagarbha Hari and Śankara (i.e. Brahmā Viṣṇu and Śiva) the creator preserver and destroyer but in another passage as him who is Brahma Īvara and spirit (Puruṣa) who with the three Guṇas (qualities of matter) is the cause of creation preservation and destruction.' The origin of the triad so far as it has any doctrinal or philosophical meaning is probably to be sought in the personification of the three Guṇas².

¹ II. 1 and L. 1

See Maitriyaṇa Up. v. 2. It is highly probable that the celebrated image at Elephanta is not a Trimūrti at all but a Mahādevamūrti of Śiva. See Gopinātha Rao, *Hindu Iconog.* II. 382.

CHAPTER XXVI

FEATURES OF HINDUISM RITUAL, CASTE, SECT, FAITH

I

IN the last chapter I traced the growth of the great gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. The prominence of these figures is one of the marks which distinguish the later phase of Indian religion from the earlier. But it is also distinguished by various practices, institutions and beliefs, which are more or less connected with the new deities. Such are a new ritual, the elaboration of the caste system, the growth of sects, and the tendency to make devotion to a particular deity the essence of religion. In the present chapter I shall say something of these phenomena.

Hinduism has often and justly been compared to a jungle. As in the jungle every particle of soil seems to put forth its spirit in vegetable life and plants grow on plants, creepers and parasites on their more stalwart brethren, so in India art, commerce, warfare and crime, every human interest and aspiration seek for a manifestation in religion, and since men and women of all classes and occupations, all stages of education and civilization, have contributed to Hinduism, much of it seems low, foolish and even immoral. The jungle is not a park or garden. Whatever can grow in it, does grow. The Brahmans are not gardeners but forest officers. To attempt a history or description of Indian creeds seems an enterprise as vast, hopeless and pathless as a general account of European politics. As for many centuries the life of Europe has expressed itself in politics, so for even longer ages the life of India, which has more inhabitants than western Europe¹, has found expression in religion, speculation and philosophy, and has left of all this thought a voluminous record, mighty in bulk if wanting in dates and events. And why should it chronicle them? The truly religious mind does not care for the history of religion,

¹ The population of India (about 315 millions) is larger than that of Europe without Russia.

just as among us the scientific mind does not dwell on the history of science

Yet in spite of their exuberance Hinduism and the jungle have considerable uniformity. Here and there in a tropical forest some well grown tree or brilliant flower attracts attention but the general impression left on the traveller by the vegetation as he passes through it mile after mile is infinite repetition as well as infinite luxuriance. And so in Hinduism. A monograph on one god or one teacher is an interesting study. But if we continue the experiment different gods and different teachers are found to be much the same. We can write about Vishnuism and Śivaism as if they were different religions and this though incomplete is not incorrect. But in their higher phases both show much the same excellences and when degraded both lead to much the same abuses except that the worship of Vishnu does not allow animal sacrifices. This is true even of externals. In the temples of Madura Poona and Benares the deities the rites the doctrines the race of the worshippers and the architecture are all different yet the impression of uniformity is strong. In spite of divergences the religion is the same in all three places is smacks of the soil and nothing like it can be found outside India.

Hinduism is an unusual combination of animism and pantheism which are commonly regarded as the extremes of savage and of philosophic belief. In India both may be found separately but frequently they are combined in startling juxtaposition. The same person who worships Vishnu as identical with the universe also worships him in the form of a pebble or plant.¹ The average Hindu who cannot live permanently in the altitudes of pantheistic thought regards his gods as great natural forces akin to the mighty rivers which he also worships irresistible and often beneficent but also capricious and destructive. Whereas Judaism Christianity and Islam all identify the moral law with the will and conduct of the deity in Hinduism this is not completely admitted in practice though a library might be filled

¹ But compare the English poet

"Flower in the crannied wall
I pluck you out of the crannies,
.....but if I could understand
What you are root and all, and all in all
I should know what God and man is.

with the beautiful things that have been said about man and God. The outward forms of Indian religion are pagan after the fashion of the ancient world, a fashion which has in most lands passed away. But whereas in the fourth century A.D. European paganism, despite the efforts of anti-Christian eclectics, proved inelastic and incapable of satisfying new religious cravings, this did not happen in India. The bottles of Hinduism have always proved capable of holding all the wine poured into them. When a new sentiment takes possession of men's souls, such as love, repentance, or the sense of sin, some deity of many shapes and sympathies straightway adapts himself to the needs of his worshippers. And yet in so doing the deity, though he enlarges himself, does not change, and the result is that we often meet with strange anachronisms, as if Jephthah should listen appreciatively to the Sermon on the Mount and then sacrifice his daughter to Christ. Many Hindu temples are served by dancing girls who are admittedly prostitutes¹, an institution which takes us back to the cultus of Corinth and Babylon and is without parallel in any nation on approximately the same level of civilization. Only British law prevents widows from being burned with their dead husbands, though even in the Vedic age the custom had been discontinued as barbarous². But for the same legislation, human sacrifice would probably be common. What the gods do and what their worshippers do in their service cannot according to Hindu opinion be judged by ordinary laws of right and wrong. The god is supra-moral; the worshipper when he enters the temple leaves conventionality outside.

Yet it is unfair to represent Hinduism as characterized by licence and cruelty. Such tendencies are counterbalanced by the strength and prevalence of ideas based on renunciation and self-effacement. All desire, all attachment to the world is an evil, all self-assertion is wrong. Hinduism is constantly in extremes: sometimes it exults in the dances of Kṛishna or the destructive fury of Kālī; more often it struggles for release from the transitory and for union with the permanent and real by

¹ Efforts are now being made by Hindus to suppress this institution.

² In the Vedic funeral ceremonies the wife lies down by her dead husband and is called back to the world of the living which points to an earlier form of the rite where she died with him. But even at this period, those who did not follow the Vedic customs may have killed widows with their husbands (see too *Ath. Veda*, XII 3), and later, the invaders from Central Asia probably reinforced the usage. The much abused Tantras forbid it.

self-denial or rather self negation which aims at the total suppression of both pleasure and pain. This is on the whole its dominant note.

In the records accessible to us the transition from Brahmanism—that is the religion of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas—to Hinduism does not appear as direct but as masked by Buddhism. We see Buddhism grow at the expense of Brahmanism. We are then conscious that it becomes profoundly modified under the influence of new ideas. We see it decay and the religion of the Brahmans emerge victorious. But that religion is not what it was when Buddhism first arose and is henceforth generally known as Hinduism. The materials for studying the period in which the change occurred—say 400 B.C. to 400 A.D.—are not scanty but they do not facilitate chronological investigation. Art and architecture are mainly Buddhist until the Gupta period (c. 320 A.D.) and literature though plentiful is undated. The Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana must have been edited in the course of these 800 years but they consist of different strata and it is not easy to separate and arrange them without assuming what we want to prove. From 400 B.C. (if not from an earlier date) onwards there grew up a great volume of epic poetry founded on popular ballads, telling the stories of Rama and the Pāṇḍavas¹. It was distinct from the canonical literatures of both Brahmans and Buddhists but though it was not in its essential character religious yet so general in India is the interest in religion that whole theological treatises were incorporated in these stories without loss in Indian opinion to the interest of the narrative. If at the present day a congregation is seen in

¹ For the history of the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata and the dates assignable to the different periods of growth see Winternitz, *Gesch. Ind. Lit.* vol. I. p. 403 and p. 429. Also Hopkins *Great Epic of India*, p. 307. The two poems had assumed something like their present form in the second and fourth centuries A.D. positively. These are probably the latest dates for any substantial additions or alterations and there is considerable evidence that poems called Bhārata and Rāmāyana were well known early in the Christian era. Thus in Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrī nīkāra* (story xxiv) they are mentioned as warlike poems inculcating unbuddhist views. The Rāmāyana is mentioned in the Mahāvibhāṣā and was known to Vasubandhu (*J.E.A.S.* 1907 p. 99). A Cambodian inscription dating from the first years of the seventh century records arrangements made for the recitation of the Rāmāyana, Purāṇa and complete (' ha) Bhārata which implies that they were known in India considerably earlier. See Barth, *Inscrip. Sanscritae de Cambodge* pp. 29-31. The Mahābhārata itself admits that it is the result of gradual growth for in the opening section it says that the Bhārata consists of 8800 verses, 24,000 couplets and 100,000 stanzas.

a Hindu temple listening to a recitation, the text which is being chanted will often prove to be part of the *Mahâbhârata*. Such a ceremony is not due to forgetfulness of the Veda but is a repetition of what happened long before our era when rhapsodists strung together popular narratives and popular theology. Such theology cannot be rigidly separated from Brahmanism and Buddhism. It grew up under their influence and accepted their simpler ideas. But it brought with it popular beliefs which did not strictly speaking belong to either system. By attacking the main Brahmanic doctrines the Buddhists gave the popular religion its opportunity. For instance, they condemned animal sacrifices and derided the idea that trained priests and complicated rites are necessary. This did not destroy the influence of the Brahmins but it disposed them to admit that the Vedic sacrifices are not the only means of salvation and to authorize other rites and beliefs. It was about this time, too, that a series of invasions began to pour into India from the north-west. It may be hard to distinguish between the foreign beliefs which they introduced and the Indian beliefs which they accepted and modified. But it is clear that their general effect was to upset traditional ideas associated with a ritual and learning which required lifelong study.

2

It has been well said¹ that Buddhism did not waste away in India until rival sects had appropriated from it everything they could make use of. Perhaps Hinduism had an even stronger doctrinal influence on Buddhism. The deification of the Buddha, the invention of Bodhisattvas who are equivalent to gods and the extraordinary alliance between late Buddhism and Śivaism, are all instances of the general Indian view overcoming the special Buddhist view. But Buddhism is closely connected with the theory of incarnations and the development of the Advaita philosophy, and in the externals of religion, in rites, ceremonies and institutions, its influence was great and lasting. We may take first the doctrine of *Ahimsâ*, non-injury, or in other words the sanctity of animal life. This beautiful doctrine, the glory of India, if not invented by the Buddha at least arose in schools which were not Brahmanic and were related to the Jain and

¹ Hardy, *Indische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 101

Buddhist movements It formed no part of the Vedic religion in which sacrifice often meant butchery But in Hinduism it meets with extensive though not universal acceptance With the Vaisnavas it is an article of faith nor do the worshippers of Siva usually propitiate him with animal sacrifices though these are offered by the Śāktas and also by the small class of Brahmans who still preserve the Vedic ritual¹ Hardly any Hindus habitually eat meat and most abhor it especially beef Yet beef-eating seems to have been permitted in Vedic times and even when parts of the Mahābhārata were composed.

Apart from animal sacrifices Buddhism was the main agent in effecting a mighty revolution in worship and ritual One is tempted to regard the change as total and complete but such wide assertions are rarely true in India customs and institutions are not swept away by reformers but are cut down like the grass and like the grass grow up again They sometimes die out but they are rarely destroyed The Vedic sacrifices are still occasionally offered² but for many centuries have been almost entirely superseded by another form of worship associated with temples and the veneration of images This must have become the dominant form of Hindu cultus in the first few centuries of our era and probably earlier It is one of the ironies of fate that the Buddha and his followers should be responsible for the growth of image worship but it seems to be true He laughed at sacrifices and left to his disciples only two forms of religious exercise sermons and meditation For Indian monks this was perhaps sufficient, but the laity craved for some outward form of worship This was soon found in the respect shown to the memory of the Buddha and the relics of his body although Hinduism never took kindly to relic worship We hear too of Cetasas In the Pīṭakas this word means a popular shrine unconnected with either Buddhist or Brahmanic ceremonial sometimes

But some of these latter sacrifice images made of dough instead of living animals

It is said that the Agnihotra was performed in Benares in 1808, and in the last few years I am told that one or two Vedic sacrifices have been offered annually in various parts of southern India. I have myself seen the sites where such sacrifices were offered in 1808-9 in Mysore city and in Chidambaram, and in 1812 at Wei near Poona. The most usual form of sacrifice now-a-days is said to be the Vājapeya. Much Vedic ritual is still preserved in the domestic life of the Nambathiri and other Brahmans of southern India. See Cochin, *Tribes and Castes*, and Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of southern India*.

perhaps merely a sacred tree or stone, probably honoured by such simple rites as decorating it with paint or flowers. A little later, in Buddhist times, the Cetiya became a cenotaph or reliquary, generally located near a monastery and surrounded by a passage for reverential circumambulation.

Allusions in the Pitakas also indicate that then as now there were fairs. The early Buddhists thought that though such gatherings were not edifying they might be made so. They erected sacred buildings near a monastery, and held festivals so that people might collect together, visit a holy place, and hear sermons. In the earliest known sanctuaries, the funeral monument (for we can scarcely doubt that this is the origin of the stûpa)¹ has already assumed the conventional form known as Dagoba, consisting of a dome and chest of relics, with a spire at the top, the whole surrounded by railings or a colonnade, but though the carving is lavish, no figure of the Buddha himself is to be seen. He is represented by a symbol such as a footprint, wheel, or tree. But in the later school of sculpture known as Gandhara or Græco-Buddhist he is frequently shown in a full length portrait. This difference is remarkable. It is easy to say that in the older school the Buddha was not depicted out of reverence, but less easy to see why such delineation should have shocked an Indian. But at any rate there is no difficulty in understanding that Greeks or artists influenced by Greeks would think it obvious and proper to make an effigy of their principal hero.

In these shrines we have if not the origin of the Hindu temple, at any rate a parallel development more nearly allied to it than anything in the Vedic religion². For the Buddhist shrine was a monument built over a receptacle containing relics and the essential feature of Hindu temples is a cell containing an image or emblem and generally surmounted by a tower. The surrounding courts and corridors may assume gigantic proportions, but the central shrine is never large. Images had no place

¹ The outline of a stûpa may be due to imitation of houses constructed with curved bamboos as Vincent Smith contends (*History of Fine Art*, p. 17). But this is compatible with the view that stone buildings with this curved outline had come to be used specially as funeral monuments before Buddhism popularized in India and all Eastern Asia the architectural form called stûpa.

² The temple of Aihole near Badami seems to be a connecting link between a Buddhist stûpa with a pradakshina path and a Hindu shrine.

in the Vedic sacrifices and those now worshipped in temples are generally small and rude and sometimes (as at Bhuvaneswar and Srirangam) the deity is represented by a block or carved stone which cannot be moved and may have been honoured as a sacred rock long before the name of Vishnu or Śiva was known in those regions¹. The conspicuous statues often found outside the shrine are not generally worshipped and are merely ornaments. Buddhism did not create the type of ritual now used in Hindu temples yet it contributed towards it, for it attacked the old Brahmanic sacrifices it countenanced the idea that particular places and objects are holy and it encouraged the use of images. It is strange that these wide-spread ideas should find no place in the Vedic religion but even now-a-days whenever the old Vedic sacrifices are celebrated they are unconaminated by the temple ceremonial. More than this the priests or Pujāns who officiate in temples are not always Brahmans and they rarely enjoy much consideration². This curious and marked feature may be connected with the inveterate Indian feeling that though it is well to multiply rites and rules for neophytes no great respect is due to men occupied with mere ceremonial. But it also testifies to a dim consciousness that modern temples and their ceremonies have little to do with the thoughts and mode of life which made the Brahmans a force in India. In many ways the Brahmans dissociate themselves from popular religion. Those of good family will not perform religious rites for Śūdras and treat the Brahmans who do so as inferiors³.

The simplest ceremonial in use at the present day is that employed in some Śivaite temples. It consists in placing leaves on the linga and pouring holy water over it. These rites which may be descended from prehistoric stone worship are generally

In most temples (at least in southern India) there are two images: the *mūrti-sagrāha* which is of stone and fixed in the sanctuary and the *visva-sagrāha* which is smaller made of metal and carried in processions.

¹ Thus Bhaṭṭa hārya (*Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 127) enumerates eleven classes of Brahmans, who "have a very low status on account of their being connected with the great public shrines," and adds that mere residence in a place of pilgrimage for few generations tends to lower the status of a Brahman family.

Thus in Bengal there is a special class, the Dama Brahmans who perform religious rites for the lower castes, and are divided into six classes according to the castes to whom they minister. Other Brahmans will not eat or intermarry with them or even take water from them.

accompanied by the reading of a Purâna. But the commonest form of temple ritual consists in treating the image or symbol as an honoured human being¹. It is awakened, bathed, dressed and put to bed at the close of day. Meals are served to it at the usual hours. The food thus offered is called *prasâd* (or favour) and is eaten by the devout. Once or twice a day the god holds a levee and on festivals he is carried in procession. These ceremonies are specially characteristic of the worship of Krishna whose images receive all the endearments lavished on a pet child. But they are also used in the temples of Śiva and Parvatî, and no less than twenty-two of them are performed in the course of the day at the temple of Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa. It is clear that the spirit of these rites is very different from that which inspires public worship in other civilized countries at the present day. They are not congregational or didactic, though if any of the faithful are in the temple at the time of the god's levee it is proper for them to enter and salute him. Neither do they recall the magical ceremonies of the Vedic sacrifices². The waving of lights (*arati*) before the god and the burning of incense are almost the only acts suggestive of ecclesiastical ritual. The rest consists in treating a symbol or image as if it were a living thing capable of enjoying simple physical pleasures. Here there are two strata. We have really ancient rites, such as the anointing or ornamenting of stones and offerings of food in sacred places. In this class too we may reckon the sacrifice of goats (and formerly of human beings) to Kâlî³. But on the other hand the growing idea of Bhakti, that is faith or devotion, imported a sentimental element and the worshipper endeavoured to pet, caress and amuse the deity.

It is hard to see anything either healthy or artistic in this

¹ This is extraordinarily like the temple ritual of the ancient Egyptians. For some account of the construction and ritual of south Indian temples see Richards in *J. of Mythic Soc.* 1919, pp. 158-167.

² But Vedic mantras are used in these ceremonies. The libations of water or other liquids are said to be accompanied by the mantras recited at the Soma sacrifice.

³ At these sacrifices there is no elaborate ritual or suggestion of symbolism. The animal is beheaded and the inference is that Kâlî likes it. Similarly simple is the offering of coco nuts to Kâlî. The worshipper gives a nut to the pujârî who splits it in two with an axe, spills the milk and hands back half the nut to the worshipper. This is the sort of primitive offering that might be made to an African fetish.

emotional ritual. The low and foolish character of many temple ceremonies disgusts even appreciative foreigners but these services are not the whole of Hindu worship. All Hindus perform in the course of the day numerous acts of private devotion varying according to sect and a pious man is not dependent on the temple like a catholic on his church. Indian life is largely occupied with these private intimate individual observances hardly noticeable as ceremonies and concerned with such things as dressing ablution and the preparation of food.

The monastic institutions of India seem due to Buddhism. There were wandering monks before the Buddha's time but the practice of founding establishments where they could reside permanently originated in his order. There appears to be no record of Hindu (as opposed to Buddhist) monasteries before the time of Śāṅkara in the ninth century though there must have been places where the learned congregated or where wandering ascetics could lodge. Śāṅkara perceived the advantage of the cenobitic life for organizing religion and founded a number of *maṭhas* or colleges. Subsequent religious leaders imitated him. At the present day these institutions are common yet it is clear that the wandering spirit is strong in Hindus and that they do not take to monastic discipline and fixed residence as readily as Tibetans and Burmese. A *maṭha* is not so much a convent as the abode of a teacher. His pupils frequent it and may become semi-resident. Aged pilgrims may make it their last home but the inmates are not a permanent body following a fixed rule like the monks of a *Vihāra*. The *Sattras* of Assam however are true monasteries (though even there vows and monastic costume are unknown) and so are the establishments of the Śwāmīnārāyaṇa sect at Ahmedabad and Wārāṇasī.

3

The vast and complicated organization of caste is mainly a post-Vedic growth and in the Buddha's time was only in the making¹. His order was open to all classes alike but this does not imply that he was adverse to caste so far as it then pre-

¹ See especially the *Ambaṭṭa Sutta* (Dig. Nik. 3) and Rhys Davids's introduction.

vailed, or denied that men are divided into categories determined by their deeds in other births. But on the whole the influence of Buddhism was unfavourable to caste, especially to the pretensions of the Brahmans, and an extant polemic against caste is ascribed (though doubtfully) to Áśvaghosha¹. On the other hand, though caste is in its origin the expression of a social rather than of a religious tendency, the whole institution and mechanism have long been supported and exploited by the Brahmans. Few of them would dispute the proposition that a man cannot be a Hindu unless he belongs to a caste. The reason of this support is undisguised, namely, that they are the first and chief caste. They make their own position a matter of religion and claim the power of purifying and rehabilitating those who have lost caste but they do not usually interfere with the rules of other castes or excommunicate those who break them². That is the business of the Pancayat or caste council.

Sometimes religion and caste are in opposition, for many modern religious leaders have begun by declaring that among believers there are no social distinctions. This is true not only of teachers whose orthodoxy is dubious, such as Nānak, the founder of the Sikhs, and Basava, the founder of the Lingāyats³, but also of Vallabhācārya and Caitanya. But in nearly all cases caste reasserts itself. The religious teachers of the sect receive extravagant respect and form a body apart. This phenomenon, which recurs in nearly all communities, shows how the Brahmans established their position. At the same time social distinctions make themselves felt among the laity, and those who claim to be of good position dissociate themselves from those of lower birth. The sect ends by observing caste on ordinary occasions, and it is only in some temples (such as that of Jagannath at Puri)⁴ that the worshippers mix and eat a sacred meal together. Sometimes, however, the sect which renounces caste becomes

¹ See Weber, *Die Vajrasuchi* and Nanjio, Catal. No. 1303. In Ceylon at the present day only members of the higher castes can become Bhikkhus.

² But it is said that in Southern India serious questions of caste are reported to the abbot of the Sringeri monastery for his decision.

³ The modern Lingāyats demur to the statement that their founder rejected caste.

⁴ So too in the cakras of the Śāktists all castes are equal during the performance of the ceremony.

itself a caste. Thus the Sikhs have become almost a nation and other modern castes arising out of sects are the Atithis who are Śivalites the Saraks who appear to have been originally Buddhists and the Baishnabs (Vaishnavas) a name commonly given in Bengal to those followers of Caitanya who persist in the original rule of disregarding caste regulations within the sect and hence now form a separate community. But as a rule sect and caste are not co-extensive and the caste is not a religious corporation. Thus the different subdivisions of the Baniyas belong to different sects and even in the same subdivision there is no religious uniformity¹.

Caste in its later developments is so complex and irregular that it is impossible to summarize it in a formula or explain it as the development of one principle. In the earliest form known two principles are already in operation. We have first racial distinction. The three upper castes represent the invading Aryans, the fourth the races whom they found in India. In the modern system of caste race is not a strong factor. Many who claim to be Brahmans and Kshatriyas have no Aryan blood but still the Aryan element is strongest in the highest castes and decreases as we descend the social scale and also decreases in the higher castes in proportion as we move from the north west to the east and south. But secondly in the three upper castes the dividing principle as reported in the earliest accounts is not race but occupation. We find in most Aryan countries a division into nobles and people but in India these two classes become three the priests having been able to assume a prominence unknown elsewhere and to stamp on literature their claim to the highest rank. This claim was probably never admitted in practice so completely as the priests desired. It was certainly disputed in Buddhist times and I have myself heard a young Rajput say that the Brahmans falsified the Epics so as to give themselves the first place.

It is not necessary for our purpose to describe the details of the modern caste system. Its effect on Indian religion has been considerable for it created the social atmosphere in which the

Some (Kh. Dalwals, Dasm Śrimalis and Palliwals) include both Jains and Vīhavas; the Agarwals are mostly Vaishnavas but some of them are Jains and some worship Śiva and Kālī. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya, *Hind. Caste and Sects* pp. 203 ff.

various beliefs grew up and it has furnished the Brahmans with the means of establishing their authority. But many religious reformers preached that in religion caste does not exist that there is neither Jew nor Gentile in the language of another creed

and though the application of this theory is never complete, the imperfection is the result not of religious opposition but of social pressure. Hindu life is permeated by the instinct that society must be divided into communities having some common interest and refusing to intermarry or eat with other communities. The long list of modern castes hardly bears even a theoretical relation to the four classes of Vedic times¹. Numerous subdivisions with exclusive rules as to intermarriage and eating have arisen among the Brahmans and the strength of this fissiparous instinct is seen among the Mohammedans who nominally have no caste but yet are divided into groups with much the same restrictions.

This remarkable tendency to form exclusive corporations is perhaps correlated with the absence of political life in India. Such ideas as nationality, citizenship, allegiance to a certain prince, patriotic feelings for a certain territory are rarer and vaguer than elsewhere, and yet the Hindu is dependent on his fellows and does not like to stand alone. So finding little satisfaction in the city or state he clings the more tenaciously to smaller corporations. These have no one character they are not founded on any one logical principle but merely on the need felt by people who have something in common to associate together. Many are based on tribal divisions, some, such as the Marathas and Newars, may be said to be nationalities. In many the bond of union is occupation, in a few it is sectarian religion. We can still observe how members of a caste who migrate from their original residence tend to form an entirely new caste, and how intertribal marriages among the aborigines create new tribes.

¹ The names used are not the same. The four Vedic castes are called *Varna* the hundreds of modern castes are called *Jāti*.

4

Sect¹ must not be confounded with caste. Hindu sects are of many kinds some if not militant are at least exceedingly self-confident. Others are so gentle in stating their views that they might be called schools rather than sects were the word not too intellectual. The notion that any creed or code can be *quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus* is less prevalent than in Europe and even the Veda though it is the eternal word is admitted to exist in several recensions. Hinduism is possible as a creed only to those who select. In its literal sense it means simply all the beliefs and rites recognized in India too multifarious and inconsistent for the most hospitable and addled brain to hold. But the Hindus who are as loth to abolish queer beliefs and practices as they are to take animal life are also the most determined seekers after a satisfying form of religion. Brahmanic ritual and Buddhist monasticism demand the dedication of a life. Not every one can afford that but the sect is open to all. It attempts to sort out of the chaos of mythology and superstition something which all can understand and all may find useful. It selects some aspect of Hinduism and makes the best of it. Sects usually start by preaching theism and equality in the sight of God but in a few generations mythology and social distinctions creep in. Hence though the prevalence of sect is undoubtedly a feature of modern Hinduism it is also intelligible that some observers should assert that most Hindus belong to the same general religion and that only the minority are definitely sectarian. The sectarian tendency is stronger in Vishnuism than in Śivaism. The latter has produced some definite sects as for instance Lingāyats but is not like Vishnuism split up into a number of Churches each founded by a human teacher and provided by him with a special creed.

Most Indian sects are in their origin theistic that is to say they take a particular deity and identify him with the Supreme Being. But the pantheistic tendency does not disappear. Popular religion naturally desires a personal deity. But it is significant that the personal deity frequently assumes pantheistic attributes and is declared to be both the world and the

¹ Sampradāya seems to be the ordinary Sanskrit word for sectarian doctrine. It means traditional teaching transmitted from one teacher to another.

human soul The best known sects arose after Islam had entered India and some of them, such as the Sikhs, show a blending of Hindu and Moslem ideas But if Mohammedan influence favoured the formation of corporations pledged to worship one particular deity, it acted less by introducing something new than by quickening a line of thought already existing The Bhagavad-gîtâ is as complete an exposition of sectarian pantheism as any utterances posterior to Mohammedanism

The characteristic doctrine of sectarian Hinduism is *bhakti*, faith or devotion The older word *śraddhâ*, which is found in the Vedas, is less emotional for it means simply belief in the existence of a deity, whereas *bhakti* can often be rendered by love It is passionate, self-oblivious devotion to a deity who in return (though many would say there is no bartering) bestows his grace (*prasâda* or *anugraha*) St Augustine in defining faith says "Quid est credere in Deum? credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari¹" This is an excellent paraphrase of *bhakti* and the words have an oriental ring which is not quite that of the New Testament Though the doctrine of *bhakti* marks the beginning of a new epoch in Hinduism it is not necessary to regard it as an importation or due to Christianity About the time of the Christian era there was felt in many countries a craving for a gentler and more emotional worship and though the history of Bhaktism is obscure, Indian literature shows plainly how it may be a development of native ideas Its first great textbook is the Bhagavad-gîtâ, but it is also mentioned in the last verse of the Śvetâśvatara Upanishad and Pânini appears to allude to *bhakti* felt for² Vâsudeva The Kathâ Upanishad³ contains the following passage

"That Âtman cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding nor by much learning He whom the Âtman chooses, by him the Âtman can be gained The Âtman chooses him as his own" Here we have not the idea of faith or love, but we have the negative statement that the Âtman is not won by knowledge and the positive statement that this Âtman chooses

¹ I am discussing elsewhere the possible debt which Christianity and Hinduism may owe to one another

² Pânini, iv 3 95-98

³ Kathâ Up i 1 2, 23

his own. In the Rig Veda¹ there is a poem put into the mouth of Varu or speech containing such sentiments as 'I give wealth to him who gives sacrifice. I am that through which one eats, breathes, sees and hears. Him that I love I make strong to be a priest, a seer, a sage.' This reads like an ancient preliminary study for the Bhagavad-gītā. Like Kṛishṇa the deity claims to be in all and, like him, to reward her votaries. It is true that the 'Come unto me' is not distinctly expressed but it is sorely struggling for expression². Again in the Kauṣhitaki Upanishad (III 1 and 2) Indra says to Prataṛdāna who had asked him for a boon: 'Know me only that is what I deem most beneficial to man that he should know me. He who meditates on me as life and immortality gains his full life in this world and in heaven immortality.' Here the relation of the devotee to the deity is purely intellectual not emotional but the idea that intellectual devotion directed to a particular deity will be rewarded is clearly present. In the Rig Veda this same Indra is called a deliverer and advocate, a friend, a brother and a father, even a father and mother in one. Here the worshipper does not talk of *bhakti* because he does not analyze his feelings but clearly these phrases are inspired by affectionate devotion.

Nor is the spirit of *bhakti* absent from Buddhism. The severe doctrine of the older schools declares that the Buddha is simply a teacher and that every man must save himself. But since the teacher is the source of the knowledge which saves, it is natural to feel for him grateful and affectionate devotion. This sentiment permeates the two books of poems called *Thera* and *Therīgāthā* and sometimes finds clear expression³. In the commentary on the *Dhammapada*⁴ the doctrine of salvation by devotion is affirmed in its extreme form, namely that a dying man who has faith in the Buddha will be reborn in heaven. But this commentary is not of early date and the doctrine quoted is probably an instance of the Hinayana borrowing the attractive features of the Mahayana. The sutras about Amṛtābha's paradise which were composed about the time of the Christian era and owe something to Persian though not to Christian

¹ R.V. x. 125.

² Compare too the hymns of the RV. to Varuṇa as a rudimentary expression of *Bhakti* from the worshipper's point of view.

³ E.g. *Therīgāthā*, 818-841 and 1231-1245.

⁴ I. 2.

influence, preach faith in Amitâbha as the whole of religion. They who believe in him and call on his name will go to heaven.

When bhakti was once accepted as a part of Indian religion, it was erected into a principle, analogous or superior to knowledge and was defined in Sûtras¹ similar to those of the Sâṅkhya and Vedânta. But its importance in philosophy is small, whereas its power as an impulse in popular religion has been enormous. To estimate its moral and intellectual value is difficult, for like so much in Hinduism it offers the sharpest contrasts. Its obvious manifestations may seem to be acts of devotion which cannot be commended ethically and belief in puerile stories; yet we find that this offensive trash continually turns into gems of religious thought unsurpassed in the annals of Buddhism and Christianity.

The doctrine of bhakti is common to both Vishnuites and Śivaïtes. It is perhaps in general estimation associated with the former more than with the latter, but this is because the Bhagavad-gîtâ and various forms of devotion to Krishna are well known, whereas the Tamil literature of Dravidian Śivaism is ignored by many European scholars. One might be inclined to suppose that the emotional faith sprang up first in the worship of Vishnu, for the milder god seems a natural object for love, whereas Śiva has to undergo a certain transformation before he can evoke such feelings. But there is no evidence that this is the historical development of the bhakti sentiment, and if the Bhagavad-gîtâ is emphatic in enjoining the worship of Krishna only, the Śvetâśvatara and Maîtrâyaṇîya Upanishads favour Śiva, and he is abundantly extolled in many parts of the Mahâbhârata. Here, as so often, exact chronology fails us in the early history of these sects, but it is clear that the practice of worshipping Śiva and Vishnu, as being each by himself all-sufficient, cannot have begun much later than the Christian era and may have begun considerably earlier, even though people did not call themselves Śaivas or Vaishnavas.

¹ They are called the Śândilya Sûtras and appear to be not older than about the twelfth century A.D., but the tradition which connects them with the School of Śândilya may be just, for the teaching of this sage (Chândog. Up. III. 14) lays stress on will and belief. Râmânuja (Śrîbhâshya, II. 2. 43) refers to Śândilya as the alleged author of the Pañcarâtra. There are other Bhakti sûtras called Nâradiya and ascribed to Nârada, published and translated in *The Sacred Books of the Hindus*, No. 23. They consist of 84 short aphorisms. Raj. Mitra in his notices of Sanskrit MSS describes a great number of modern works dealing with Bhakti.

Bhakti is often associated with the doctrine of the playfulness of God. This idea—so strange to Europe¹—may have its roots partly in the odd non-moral attributes of some early deities. Thus the Rndra of the Śatarudriya hymn is a queer character and a trickster. But it soon takes a philosophical tinge and is used to explain the creation and working of the universe which is regarded not as an example of capricious ironical inscrutable action but rather as manifesting easy joyous movement and the exuberant rhythm of a dance executed for its own sake. The European can hardly imagine a sensible person doing anything without an object: he thinks it almost profane to ascribe motiveless action to the Creator: he racks his brain to discover any purpose in creation which is morally worthy and moderately in accord with the facts of experience. But he can find none. The Hindu on the contrary argues that God being complete and perfect cannot be actuated by aims or motives: for all such impulses imply a desire to obtain something: whereas a perfect and complete being is one which by its very definition needs neither change nor addition. Therefore whatever activity is ascribed to the creator must not be thought of as calculating purposeful endeavour but as spontaneous exultant movement needing and admitting no explanation and analogous to sport and play rather than to the proceedings of prudent people. This view of the divine activity is expounded by so serious a writer as Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras and it also finds mythological expression in numerous popular legends. The Tamil Purāṇas describe the sixty-four miracles of Śiva as his amusements: his laughter and joyous movements brighten all things and the street minstrels sing: He sports in the world. He sports in the soul². He is supposed to dance in the Golden Hall of the temple at Chidambaram and something of the old legends of the Śatarudriya

¹ Yet it is found in Francis Thompson: a poem called *Any Saint*:

So best
God loves to jest
With children small, a freak
Of heavenly hide and seek
Fit
For thy wayward wit.

Pope, *The History of Maximilla Vespiger* p. 23. For the 64 sports of Śiva see Siddhanta Dipika, vol. ix.

hangs about such popular titles as the Deceiver and the Maniac (*Kalvar*) and the stories of his going about disguised and visiting his worshippers in the form of a mendicant. The idea of sport and playfulness is also prominent in Vishnuism. It is a striking feature in the cultus of both the infant and the youthful Krishna, but I have not found it recorded in the severer worship of Râma.

Another feature of Hindu sects is the extravagant respect paid to Gurus or teachers. The sanctity of the Guru is an old conviction in India. By common consent he is entitled to absolute obedience and offences against him are heinous crimes. But in sectarian literature there appears a new claim, namely, that the Guru in some way is or represents the god whose worship he teaches. If the deity is thought of primarily as a saviour, the Guru is said to deliver from suffering and hell; if he requires surrender and sacrifice, then person and possessions must be dedicated to the Guru. Membership of a sect can be attained only by initiation at the hands of a Guru who can teach a special mantra or formula of which each sect has its own. In some of the more modern sects the Guru need not be a Brahman, but if he cannot be venerated for his caste, the deficiency is compensated by the respect which he receives as a repository of oral teaching. The scriptural basis of many sects is dubious and even when it exists, many of the devout (especially women) have not the inclination or ability to read and therefore take their religion from the lips of the Guru, who thus becomes an oracle and source of truth. In Bengal, the family Guru is a regular institution in respectable castes. In many sects the founder or other prominent saint is described as an incarnation and receives veneration after death¹.

This veneration or deification of the Guru is found in most sects and assumes as extreme a form among the Śaivas as among the Vaishnavas. The Śaiva Siddhânta teaches that divine instruction can be received only from one who is both god and man, and that the true Guru is an incarnation of Śiva. Thus the works of Mânikka-Vâçagar and Umâpatî speak of Śiva coming to his devotees in the form of the Guru. In the sects that worship Krishna the Gurus are frequently called Gosain

¹ *E.g.* Râmânuja, Nammârvâr, Basava

(Goswami)¹ Sometimes they are members of a particular family as among the Vallabhācāryas. In other sects there is no hereditary principle and even a Sudra is eligible as Guru.

One other feature of Sectarian Hinduism must be mentioned. It may be described as Tantrism or in one of its aspects as the later Yoga and is a combination of practices and theories which have their roots in the old literature and began to form a connected doctrine at least as early as the eighth century A.D. Some of its principal ideas are as follows: (i) Letters and syllables (and also their written forms and diagrams) have a potent influence both for the human organism and for the universe. This idea is found in the early Upanishads² and is fully developed in the later Sectarian Upanishads. (ii) The human organism is a miniature copy of the universe³. It contains many lines or channels (nāḍī) along which the nerve force moves and also nervous centres distributed from the hips to the head. (iii) In the lowest centre resides a force identical with the force which creates the universe⁴. When by processes which are partly physical it is roused and made to ascend to the highest centre emancipation and bliss are obtained. (iv) There is a mysterious connection between the process of cosmic evolution and sound especially the sacred sound *Om*.

These ideas are developed most thoroughly in Śāktist works but are by no means peculiar to them. They are found in the Pāncarātra and the later Purāṇas and have influenced almost all modern sects although those which are based on emotional devotion are naturally less inclined to favour physical and magical means of obtaining salvation.

¹ Apparently meaning "possessor of cows," and originally a title of the youthful Kṛṣṇa. It is also interpreted as meaning Lord of the Vedas or Lord of his own kingdom.

² E.g. the beginning of the Chānd. Up. about the syllable *Om*. See too the last section of the Aitareya Āraṇ. The Yoga Upanishads analyse and explain *Om* and some Viśṇuistic Upanishads (Nṛsīṃha and Rāmāṇa pañcā) enlarge on the subject of letters and diagrams.

³ The same idea pervades the old literature in a slightly different form. The parts of the sacrifice are constantly identified with parts of the universe or of the human body.

The cakras are mentioned in Act v of Mālatī and Mādhava written early in the eighth century. The doctrine of the nāḍīs occurs in the older Upanishads (e.g. Chāndī and Maitrāyaṇa) in a rudimentary form.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EVOLUTION OF HINDUISM BHÂGAVATAS AND PÂŚUPATAS

1

INDIA is a literary country and naturally so great a change as the transformation of the old religion into theistic sects preaching salvation by devotion to a particular deity found expression in a long and copious literature. This literature supplements and supersedes the Vedic treatises but without impairing their theoretical authority, and, since it cannot compare with them in antiquity and has not the same historic interest, it has received little attention from Indianists until the present century. But in spite of its defects it is of the highest importance for an understanding of mediæval and contemporary Hinduism. Much of it is avowedly based on the principle that in this degenerate age the Veda is difficult to understand¹, and that therefore God in His mercy has revealed other texts containing a clear compendium of doctrine. Thus the great Vishnuite doctor Râmânuya states authoritatively "The incontrovertible fact then is as follows. The Lord who is known from the Vedânta texts recognising that the Vedas are difficult to fathom by all beings other than himself with a view to enable his devotees to grasp the true meaning of the Vedas, himself composed the Pancarâtra-Śâstra²."

This later sectarian literature falls into several divisions

A Certain episodes of the Mahâbhârata. The most celebrated of these is the Bhagavad-gîtâ, which is probably anterior to the Christian era. Though it is incorporated in the Epic it is frequently spoken of as an independent work. Later and less celebrated but greatly esteemed by Vishnuites is the latter part

¹ An attempt was made to adapt the Veda to modern ideas by composing new Upanishads. The inspiration of such works is not denied but they have not the same influence as the literature mentioned below.

² Śrî Bhâshya, II 2 43. So too the Vishnu Purâṇa, I 1 describes itself as equal in sanctity to the Vedas. Śāṅkara on Brah Sûtras, I 3 33 says that the Purâṇas are authoritative.

of book XII commonly known as *Nārāyaṇya*¹. Both these episodes and others are closely analogous to metrical *Upanishads*. The *Mahābhārata* even styles itself (I 261) the Veda of Kṛishna (*Kārishna*).

The *Rāmāyana* does not contain religious episodes comparable to those mentioned but the story has more than once been re-written in a religious and philosophic form. Of such versions the *Adhyatmanirṇayana*² and *Yoga vasishtha rāmāyana* are very popular.

B Though the *Purāṇas*³ are not at all alike most of them show clear affinity both as literature and as religious thought to the various strata of the *Mahābhārata* and to the Law Books especially the metrical code of Manu. These all represent a form of orthodoxy which while admitting much that is not found in the Veda is still Brahmanic and traditionalist. The older *Purāṇas* (e.g. *Matsya Vāyu Markandeya Vishnu*) or at least the older parts of them are the literary expression of that Hindu reaction which gained political power with the accession of the Gupta dynasty. They are less definitely sectarian than later works such as the *Narada* and *Linga Purāṇas* yet all are more or less sectarian.

The most influential *Purāṇa* is the *Bhagavata* one of the great scriptures for all sects which worship Kṛishna. It is said to have been translated into every language of India and forty versions in Bengal alone are mentioned⁴. It was probably com-

¹ See G. K. S. in *Ind. Ant.* 1909 p. 31 and p. 373.

² E.g. the *Sanatanajalpa* and *Anugītā* (both in *S. B. F.* VIII.). See Deussen *Fürst der indischen Texte d. Mahābhārata*.

³ Forming part of the *Brahmāṇṣa Purāṇa*.

⁴ See for a summary of them Winternitz, *Gesch. Ind. Lit.* 2, pp. 450-483. For the dates see Fargler *Dynasties of the Hall* II holds that the historical portions of the older *Purāṇas* were compiled in Prakrit about 400 A.D. and re-edited in Sanskrit about 500. See also Vincent Smith, *Early History* p. 1 and, against Fargler Keith in *J. R. A. S.* 1914 p. 1091. Alberuni (who wrote in 1030) mentions eighteen *Purāṇas* and gives two lists of them. Bāṇa (c. 900 A.D.) mentions the recitation of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* ascribed to Śaṅkara quotes the *Brahma P.*, *Linga P.* and *Vishnu P.* as authorities as well as Purāṇic texts described as *Vishnu dharmas* and *Śivadharmas* etc. But the authorship of this commentary is doubtful. The *Purāṇic literature* we know it probably began with the Gupta dynasty or a century before it but the word *Purāṇa* in the sense of an ancient legend which ought to be learnt occurs as early as the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI B. B. 8) and even in A.V. XI. 7. 4.

⁵ See Dinesh Chandra Sen *Hist. Bengal Language and Lit.* pp. 220-228.

posed in the eighth or ninth century¹ A free translation of the tenth book into Hindi, called the Prem Sagar or Ocean of Love, is greatly revered in northern India² Other sectarian Purânas are frequently read at temple services Besides the eighteen great Purânas there are many others, and in south India at any rate they were sometimes composed in the vernacular, as for instance the Periya Purâna (c 1100 A D) These vernacular Purânas seem to be collections of strangely fantastic fairy tales

C The word Tantra originally meant a manual giving the essentials of a subject but later usage tends to restrict it to works, whether Hindu or Buddhist, inculcating the worship of Śiva's spouse But there are exceptions to this restriction the Panca-tantra is a collection of stories and the Lakshmî-tantra is a Vishnuite work³

The fact is that a whole class of Sanskrit religious literature is described by the titles Tantra, Âgama and Samhitâ⁴, which taken in a wide sense are practically synonymous, though usage is inclined to apply the first specially to Śâktist works, the second to Śivaite and the third to Vishnuite The common character of all these productions is that they do not attempt to combine Vedic rites and ideas with sectarian worship, but boldly state that, since the prescriptions of the Veda are too hard for this age, some generous deity has revealed an easier teaching This teaching naturally varies in detail, but it usually comprises devotion to some special form of the godhead and also a special ceremonial, which commences with initiation and includes the use of mystic formulæ, letters and diagrams

¹ Pargiter, *l c* pp xvii, xlviii It does not belong to the latest class of Purânas for it seems to contemplate the performance of Smârta rites not temple ceremonial, but it is not quoted by Râmânûja (twelfth century) though he cites the Vishnu Purâna Probably he disapproved of it

² It was made as late as 1803 by Lallû Jî Lâl, but is a rendering into Hindi of a version in the Braj dialect, probably made in the sixteenth century

³ Another Vishnuite work is cited indifferently as Pâdma tantra or Pâdma-samhitâ, and the Bhâgavata Purâna (1 3 8) speaks of the Sâttvatam Tantram, which is apparently the Sâttvata samhitâ The work edited by Schrader is described as the *Akshobhya Samhitâ of the Pâncarâtra Âgama*

⁴ See for some notices of these works A. Avalon's various publications about Tantra Srinivasa Iyengar, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 118-191 Govindacarya Svâmi on the Vaishnava Samhitâs, *J R A S* 1911, pp 935 ff Schomerus, *Çaiva Siddhânta*, pp 7 ff and Schrader's *Introduction to the Pâncarâtra* Whereas these works claim to be independent of the Veda, the Sectarian Upanishads (see vol 1 p 76) are an attempt to connect post Vedic sects with the Veda

Tantras Āgamas and Samhitās all treat of their subject-matter in four divisions¹ the first of which relates to the great problems of philosophy the second to the discipline necessary for uniting the self and God the third and fourth to ceremonial

These works have another feature in common namely that they are little known except to those Hindus who use them for religious purposes and are probably not very anxious to see them published. Though they are numerous few of them have been printed and those few have not been much studied by European scholars. I shall say something more about them below in treating of the various sects. Some are of respectable antiquity but it is also clear that modern texts pass under ancient names. The Pancarātram and Pāśupatam which are Viṣṇuite and Śivaite Samhitās are mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some extant Viṣṇuite Samhitās were perhaps composed in the fourth century A.D.² Rāmānuja as quoted above states that the Pancarātra sūtra (apparently the same as the Pancarātra tantra which he also mentions) was composed by Vāsudeva himself and also cites as scripture the Śāttvata, Paushkara and Parama Samhitās. In the same context he speaks of the Mahābhārata as Bhārata-Samhitā and the whole passage is interesting as being a statement by a high authority of the reasons for accepting a new Vedic work like the Pancarātra as revealed scripture.

As already indicated European usage makes the words Tantra, Tantrism and tantric refer to the worship of goddesses. It would be better to describe this literature and worship as Śāktism and to use Tantrism for a tendency in doctrine and ceremonial which otherwise has no special name. I have been informed by Tamil Pandits that at the present day the ritual in some temples is smārta or according to Smṛiti, but in the majority according to the Āgamas or tantric. The former which is followed by many well known shrines (for instance in Benares and in the great temples of south India) conforms to the pre-

¹ Jñāna, Yoga, Caryā, Arīyā. The same names are used of Buddhist Tantras, except that Anuttara replaces Jñāna.

² See Schrader *Introd. to the Pāśupadins*, p. 88. In the Raghuvamśa, x. 7 Āgam are not only mentioned but said to be extremely numerous. But in such passages it is hard to say whether Āgama means the books now so-called or merely tradition. Alberuni seems not to have known of this literature and a Tantra for him is merely a minor treatise on astronomy. He evidently regards the Vedas, Purāṇas, philosophical Darśanas and Epics as constituting the religious literature of India.

cepts of the Purâṇas, especially on festival days. The officiants require no special initiation and burnt offerings are presented. But the Agamic ritual can be performed only by priests who have received initiation, burnt offerings rarely form part of the ceremony and vernacular hymns are freely used¹

Such hymns however as well as processions and other forms of worship which appeal directly to the religious emotions are certainly not tantric. Tantrism is a species of religious magic, differing from the Vedic sacrifices in method rather than principle². For all that, it sets aside the old rites and announces itself as the new dispensation for this age. Among its principal features are the following. The Tantras are a scripture for all, and lay little stress on caste. The texts and the ritual which they teach can be understood only after initiation and with the aid of a teacher. The ritual consists largely in the correct use of spells, magical or sacramental syllables and letters, diagrams and gestures. Its object is less to beseech than to compel the god to come to the worshipper. Another object is to unite the worshipper to the god and in fact transform him into the god. Man is a microcosm corresponding to the macrocosm or universe. The spheres and currents of the universe are copied in miniature in the human body and the same powers rule the same parts in the greater and the lesser scheme. Such ideas are widely disseminated in almost all modern sects³, though without

¹ Rājagopala Chariar (*Vaiṣṇavite Reformers*, p. 4) says that in Viṣṇu temples two rituals are used called Pāncarâtra and Vaikhâṇasa. The latter is apparently consistent with Smârta usage whereas the Pāncarâtra is not. From Gopinâtha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 56, 77, 78 it appears that there is a Vaikhâṇasâgama parallel to the Pāncarâtrâgama. It is frequently quoted by this author, though as yet unpublished. It seems to be the ritual of those Bhâgavatas who worship both Śiva and Viṣṇu. It is said to exist in two recensions, prose and metrical, of which the former is perhaps the oldest of the Vaiṣṇava Âgamas. The Vaikhâṇasa ritual was once followed at Śrīrangam but Rāmānuja substituted the Pāncarâtra for it.

² Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. xxvii describes it as "that development of the Vaidika Karmakāṇḍa which under the name of the Tantra Śāstra is the scripture of the Kali age." This seems to me a correct statement of the tantric theory.

³ Thus the Gautamiya Tantra which is held in high estimation by Viṣṇuīta householders in Bengal, though not by ascetics, is a complete application of Śākta worship to the cult of Kṛishṇa. The Vārâhi Tantra is also Viṣṇuīta. See Raj Mitra, *Sanskrit MSS of Bikaner*, p. 583 and *Notices of Sk. MSS* III (1876), p. 90, and I cclxxxvii. See too the usages of the Nambuthiri Brahmans as described in

forming their essential doctrine but I must repeat that to say all sects are tantric does not mean that they are all Śāktist. But Śāktist sects are fundamentally and thoroughly tantric in their theory and practice.

D Besides the Sanskrit books mentioned above numerous vernacular works especially collections of hymns are accepted as authoritative by various sects and almost every language has scriptures of its own. In the south two Tamil hymnals the *Devaram* of the Śivaites and *Nālayira Prabandham* of the Viśhnuites are recited in temples and are boldly stated to be revelations equivalent to the *Veda*. In northern India may be mentioned the Hindi *Ramayana* of Tulsī Das, which is almost universally venerated the *Bhakta mālā* of Nābhā Das¹ the *Sur-sagar* of Surdas and the *Prem Sagar*. In Assam the *Nam Gosha* of Madhab Deb is honoured with the same homage as a sacred image. The awkwardness of admitting direct inspiration in late times is avoided by the theory of spiritual descent that is to say of doctrinal transmission from teacher to teacher the divine revelation having been made to the original teacher at a discreetly remote epoch.

2

In considering the evolution of modern Hinduism out of the old Vedic religion three of the many factors responsible for this huge and complicated result deserve special attention. The first is the unusual intensity and prevalence of the religious temperament. This has a double effect both conservative and alterative. Ancient customs receive an unreasonable respect they are not abolished for their immorality or absurdity but since real interest implies some measure of constructive power there is a constant growth of new ideas and reinterpretations resulting in inconsistent combinations. The second is the absence of hierarchy and discipline. The guiding principle of the Brahmins has always been not so much that they have a particular creed to enforce as that whatever is the creed of India they must be its ministers. Naturally every priest is the champion of his own god or rite and such zeal may lead to occasional conflicts. But

Cockin Tribes and Castes, II. pp. 229-233. In many ways the Nambuthiris preserve the ancient Vedic practices.

¹ See Grierson's articles *Gleanings from the Bhakti m*. In *J.R.A.S.* 1909-1910.

though the antithesis between the ritualism of the older Brahmanism and the faith or philosophy of Śivaism and Viṣṇuism may remind us of the differences between the Catholic Church and Protestant reformers, yet historically there is no resemblance in the development of the antithesis. To some extent Hinduism showed a united front against Buddhism, but the older Brahmanism had no organization which enabled it to stand as a separate Church in opposition to movements which it disliked. The third factor is the deeply rooted idea, which reappears at frequent intervals from the time of the Upanishads until to-day, that rules and rites and even creeds are somehow part of the lower and temporal order of things which the soul should transcend and leave behind. This idea tinges the whole of Indian philosophy and continually crops up in practice. The founder of a strange sect who declares that nothing is necessary but faith in a particular deity and that all ceremonies and caste observances are superfluous is not in the popular esteem a subverter of Hinduism.

The history of both Śivaism and Viṣṇuism illustrates these features. Śiva begins as a wild deity of non-moral attributes. As the religious sense develops he is not rejected like the less reputable deities of the Jews and Arabs but remains and collects round himself other strange wild ideas which in time are made philosophical but not ethical. The rites of the new religion are, if not antagonistic, at least alternative to the ancient sacrifices, yet far from being forbidden they are performed by Brahmans and modern Indian writers describe Śiva as peculiarly the Brahman's god. Finally the Śivaite schools of the Tamil country reject in successive stages the grosser and more formal elements until there remains nothing but an ecstatic and mystical monotheism. Similarly among the Viṣṇuistes Kṛiṣṇa is the centre of legends which have even less of conventional morality. Yet out of them arises a doctrine that the love of God is the one thing needful so similar to Christian teaching that many have supposed it must be borrowed.

The first clear accounts of the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu are contained in the epics and indicate the existence of sectarian religion, that is to say of exclusive devotion to one or other deity. But there is also a tendency to find a place for both, a tendency which culminates in the composite deity Śaṅkara-

Nārāyaṇa already mentioned. Many of the Purāṇas¹ reflect this view and praise the two deities impartially. The Mahābhārata not unfrequently does the same but the general impression left by this poem is that the various parts of which it consists have been composed or revised in a sectarian spirit. The body of the work is a narrative of exploits in which the hero Kṛishṇa plays a great part but revised so as to make him appear often as a deity and sometimes as the Supreme Spirit. But much of the didactic matter which has been added particularly books XII and XIII breathes an equally distinct Śivaite spirit and in the parts where Kṛishṇa is treated as a mere hero the principal god appears to be not Viṣṇu but Śiva.

The Mahābhārata and Purāṇas contain legends which though obscure refer to conflicts of the worshippers of Śiva with those who offered Vedic sacrifices as well as with the votaries of Viṣṇu and to a subsequent reconciliation and blending of the various cults. Among these is the well known story of Dakṣha's sacrifice to which Śiva was not invited. Enraged at the omission he violently breaks up the sacrifice either in person or through a being whom he creates for the purpose assaults the officiants and the gods who are present and is pacified by receiving a share. Similarly we hear that he once seized a victim at a sacrifice and that the gods in fear allotted to him the choicest portion of the offerings. These stories indicate that at one time Brahmans did not countenance his worship and he is even represented as saying to his wife that according to rule (dharma) he has no share in the sacrifice². Possibly human victims were immolated in his honour as they were in Kālī's until recently for in the Mahābhārata³ it is related how Kṛishṇa expostulated with Jarāsandha who pro

¹ E.g. Mārkaṇḍeya, Vām. and Varāha. Also the Skanda Upaniṣad.

² M. B. V. Vanaparvan, 11001 ff. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Book IV sec. 7 emphasises more clearly the objections of the Rishis to Śiva as an enemy of Vedic sacrifices and a patron of unhallowed rites.

³ Mahābh. XII. sec. 283. In the same way the worship of Dionysus was once a novelty in Greece and not countenanced by the more conservative and respectable party. See Eur. Bacchae, 45. The Varāha Purāṇa relates that the Śivaite scriptures were revealed for the benefit of certain Brahmans whose sins had rendered them incapable of performing Vedic rites. There is probably some truth in this legend in so far as it means that Brahmans who were excommunicated for some fault were disposed to become the ministers of non Vedic cults.

Mahābh. II. sec. 16-22 ff.

posed to offer to Śiva a sacrifice of captive kings. In the Vishnu-Purâna, Kṛishna fights with Śiva and burns Benares. But by the time that the Mahabharata was put together these quarrels were not in an acute stage. In several passages¹ Kṛishna is made to worship Śiva as the Supreme Spirit and in others² vice versa Śiva celebrates the glory of Kṛishna. Vishnuites do not disbelieve in Śiva but they regard him as a god of this world, whereas their own deity is cosmic and universal. Many Vishnuite works³ are said to be revealed by Śiva who acts as an intermediary between us and higher spheres.

3

In the following sections I shall endeavour to relate the beginnings of sectarianism. The sects which are now most important are relatively modern and arose in the twelfth century or later, but the sectarian spirit can be traced back several centuries before our era. By sectarians I mean worshippers of Śiva or Vishnu who were neither in complete sympathy with the ancient Brahmanism nor yet excommunicated by it and who had new texts and rites to replace or at least supplement the Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices. It is probable that the different types of early Indian religion had originally different geographical spheres. Brahmanism flourished in what we call the United Provinces. Buddhism arose in the regions to the east of this district and both Vishnuism and Śivaism are first heard of in the west.

The earliest sect of which we have any record is that of the Bhâgavatas, who were or became Vishnuite. At a date which it is impossible to fix but considerably before the epoch of Pânini, a tribe named the Yâdavas occupied the country between Muttra and the shores of Gujarat. Septs of this tribe were called Vṛishni and Sâttvata. The latter name has passed into theology. Kṛishna belonged to this sept and it is probable that this name Vâsudeva was not originally a patronymic but the name of a deity worshipped by it. The hero Kṛishna was identified with this god and subsequently when the Brahmans wished to bring this powerful sect within the pale of orthodoxy

¹ Drona p., 2862 ff. Anusâsana p., 590 ff.

² E.g. Anusâsana p., 6806 ff.

³ E.g. the Ahirbudhnya Samhitâ and Adnyâtma Râmâyana.

both were identified with Viṣṇu. In the Mahābharata¹ the rule or ritual (vidhi) of the Sāttvatas is treated as equivalent to that of the Bhāgavatas and a work called the Sāttvata Saṃhitā is still extant. Bhāgavata appears to be the most general name of the sect or sects and means simply *of the Lord* (Bhagavat) that is worshippers of the one Lord². Their religion is also called Ekāntika dharma or the religion with one object that is monotheism³.

A considerable literature grew up in this school and the principal treatise is often spoken of as Pāncarātra because it was revealed by Nārāyaṇa during five nights⁴. The name however appears to be strictly speaking applicable to a system or body of doctrine and the usual term for the books in which this system is expounded is Saṃhitā. All previous discussions and speculations about these works of which little was known until recently are superseded by Schrader's publication of the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā which appears to be representative of its class⁵. The names of over two hundred are cited and of these more than thirty are known to be extant in MS.⁶ The majority were composed in north western India but the Pāncarātra doctrine spread to the Dravidian countries and new Saṃhitās were produced there the chief of which the Īśvara Saṃhitā can hardly be later than 800 A.D.⁷ Of the older works Schrader

Śāntipar. v. 11, 10711 ff. In the Bhagavad-gītā Kṛiṣṇa says that he is Vāmadeva of the Vṛiṣṇa, xl. 37.

Cf. the title Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Ekāyana is mentioned several times in the Chāndogya Up. (vii. 1-2 and afterwards) as a branch of religious or literary knowledge and in connection with Nārada. But it is not presented as the highest or satisfying knowledge.

Even in the Śatapatha Br. Nārāyaṇa is mentioned in connection with a sacrifice lasting five days, xiii. 6. 1.

The Saṃhitās hitherto best known to orientalists appear to be late and spurious. The Brihadbrahma Saṃhitā published by the A. and W. M. Press mentions Rāmānuja. The work printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* as Nārada pañcarātra (although its proper title apparently is Jñānāmṛt-sāra) has been analyzed by Roussel in *Mélanges Harles* and is apparently a late liturgical compilation of little origin. Its Schrader's work was published by the Adyar Library in Madras, 1916. Apparently the two forms Pāñcarātra and Pañcorātra are both found, but that with the long vowel is the more usual. Govindācharya's article in *J.R.A.S.* 1911 p. 951 may also be consulted.

The oldest are apparently the Pañhikā, Vārīka, Brāhma Sāttvata, Jaya and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitās, all quoted as authoritative by either Rāmānuja or Vedānta Deśika.

It is quoted as equal to the Vedas by Yāmunaācharya so it must then have been in existence some centuries.

thinks that the *Ahīrbudhnya* was written in Kashmir¹ between 300 and 800 A D and perhaps as early as the fourth century. It mentions the *Śāttvata* and *Jayākhyā*, which must therefore be older.

The most remarkable feature of this literature is its elaborate doctrine of evolution and emanation from the Deity, the world process being conceived in the usual Hindu fashion as an alternation of production and destruction. A distinction is drawn between pure and gross creation. What we commonly call the Universe is bounded by the shell of the cosmic egg and there are innumerable such eggs, each with its own heavens and its own tutelary deities such as *Brahmā* and *Śiva* who are sharply distinguished from *Vishnu*. But beyond this multitude of worlds are more mysterious and spiritual spheres, the highest heaven or *Vaikuntha* wherein dwells God in his highest form (*Para*) with his *Śaktis*², certain archangels and liberated souls. Evolution commences when at the end of the cosmic night the *Śakti* of *Vishnu*³ is differentiated from her Lord and assumes the two forms of Force and Matter⁴. He as differentiated from her is *Vāsudeva* a personal deity with six attributes⁵ and is the first emanation, or *Vyūha*, of the ineffable godhead. From him proceeds *Sankarshana*, from *Sankarshana* *Pradyumna*, and from *Pradyumna* *Aniruddha*. These three *Vyūhas* take part in creation but also correspond to or preside over certain aspects of human personality, namely *Sankarshana* to the soul that animates all beings, *Pradyumna* to intelligence and *Aniruddha* to individuality. Strange to say these seem to be the names of distinguished personages in the *Śāttvata* or *Vṛishni* clan⁶. Mere deification occurs in many countries but the transformation of heroes into metaphysical or psychological terms could hardly have happened outside India. Next to the *Vyūhas* come twelve

¹ The story of *Śvetadvīpa* or White Island in the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* states definitely that *Nārada* received the *Pancarātra* there.

² There is much diversity of statement as to whether there are one or many *Śaktis*.

³ *Vishnu* is the name of God in all his aspects, but especially God as the absolute. *Vāsudeva* is used both of God as the absolute and also as the first emanation (*Vyūha*).

⁴ *Kṛyāśakti* and *Bhūtīśakti*.

⁵ *Jñāna*, *aśvarya*, *śakti*, *bala*, *virya*, *tejas*. These are called *gunas* but are not to be confounded with the three ordinary *gunas*.

⁶ The words seem to have been originally proper names. See the articles in the *Petersburg Lexicon*.

sub Vyāhas among whom is Nārāyaṇa¹ and thirty nine Avatāras. All these beings are outside the cosmic eggs and our gross creation. As a prelude to this last there takes place the evolution of the aggregates or sources from which individual souls and matter are drawn of space and of time and finally of the elements the process as described seeming to follow an older form of the Sāṅkhya philosophy than that known to us. The task of human souls is to attain liberation but though the language of the Saṃhitās is not entirely consistent the older view is that they become like to God not that they are absorbed in him.²

Thus it is not incorrect to say that the Bhāgavata religion is monotheistic and recognizes a creator of souls. Indeed Śaṅkara³ condemns it on the very ground that it makes individual souls originate from Vāsudeva in which case since they have an origin they must also have an end. But Rāmānuja in replying to this criticism seems to depart from the older view for he says that the Supreme Being voluntarily abides in four forms which include the soul mind and the principle of individuality. This, if not Pantheism is very different from European monotheism.⁴

The history of these Bhāgavatas Pāncarātras or worshippers of Viṣṇu must have begun several centuries before our era for there are allusions to them in Pāṇini and the Niddesa.⁵ The names of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa occur in old inscriptions⁶ and the Greek Hellodoros calls himself a Bhāgavata on the column found at Besnagar and supposed to date from the first part of the second century B.C.

The Pāncarātra was not Brahmanic in origin⁷ and the form

Nārāyaṇa like Viṣṇu is used to designate more than one aspect of God. Sometimes it denotes the Absolute.

¹ The above brief sketch is based on Schrader's *Int. to the Pāncarātra* where the reader can find full details.

² Comment on Vedānta sūtras, II. * 4.

And, as Schrader shows, the evolutionary system of the Pāncarātra is practically concerned with only one force, the Śakti, which under the name Bhāṭi is manifested as the Universe and as Kriyā vital force and go-cusli (p. 31).

On Sutta nipāta, 790, 792. The doctrine of the Vyāhas is expounded in the Mahābhārata Śāntip. cccxli. 36 ff., 70 ff.; cccxlii. 25 ff.

Lider's List of Brahmi inscriptions, No. 6, supposed not to be later than 200 B.C. and No. 1112 supposed to be of the first century B.C. Saṅkarṣaṇa is also mentioned in the Kaṇṭhīya Arth śāstra, xiii. 3.

Some Saṃhitās emphasize the distinction between the followers of the Veda and the enlightened ones who worship the Lord. See Schrader *Pāncarātra* p. 97.

of the Sâṅkhya philosophy from which it borrowed was also un-Brahmanic. It seems to have grown up in north-western India in the centuries when Iranian influence was strong and may owe to Zoroastrianism the doctrine of the Vyûhas which finds a parallel in the relation of Ahura Mazda to Spenta Mainyu, his Holy Spirit, and in the Fravashis. It is also remarkable that God is credited with six attributes comparable with the six Am-*esha Spentas*. In other ways the Pâncarâtra seems to have some connection with late Buddhism. Though it lays little stress on the worship of goddesses, yet all the Vyûhas and Avatâras are provided with Śaktis, like the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of tantric Buddhism, and in the period of quiescence which follows on the dissolution of the Universe Vishnu is described under the name of Śūnya or the void. It attaches great importance to the *Cakra*, the wheel or discus which denotes Vishnu's will to be¹, to evolve and maintain the universe, and it may have contributed some ideas to the very late form of Buddhism called Kâlacakra. This very word is used in the Ahirbudhnya Samhitâ as the name of one of the many wheels engaged in the work of evolution.

Though the Pâncarâtra is connected with Kṛishna in its origin, it gives no prominence to devotion to him under that name as do modern sects and it knows nothing of the pastoral Kṛishna². It recommends the worship of the four Vyûhas³ presiding over the four quarters in much the same way that late Buddhism adores the four Jinas depicted in somewhat similar forms. Similarly the Śivaites say that Śiva has five faces, namely Îsâna or Sadâśiva (the highest, undifferentiated form of the deity) at the top and below Vâmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha and Sadyojâta, presiding respectively over the north, south, east and west. It is thus clear that in the early centuries of our era (or perhaps even before it) there was a tendency in Vishnuism, Śivaism and Mahayanist Buddhism alike to represent the ineffable godhead as manifested in four aspects somewhat more intelligible to human minds and producing in their turn many inferior manifestations. Possibly the

¹ Syâm iti Sankalpa, Ahirbudh Sam II 7. In some late Upanishads (e.g. Nâradaparivṛâjaka and Brihatsannyâsa) Cakri is used as a synonym for a Pâncarâtra.

² The same is true of Râmânuja, who never quotes the Bhâgavata Purâna.

³ See the quotations from the Sâttvata Samhitâ in Schrader, pp 150-154. As in the Pâncarâtra there is the Para above the four Vyûhas, so some late forms of Buddhism regard Vairocana as the source of four Jinas.

theory originated among the Viśṇuītes¹ but as often happened in India it was adopted by their opponents. None of these theories are of much importance as living beliefs at the present day but their influence can be seen in iconography.

As a sect the Pāncarātra seem to have been a subdivision of the Bhāgavatas and probably at the present day many Viśṇuītes would accept the second name but not the first. The Pāncarātra is studied at only a few places in southern India but its doctrines permeate the popular work called Bhaktamālā and in view of the express approbation of Rāmānuja and other authorities it can hardly be repudiated by the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Bhāgavata is sometimes used in the south as a name for Smārtas who practise Vedic rites and worship both Śiva and Viśṇu.²

4

In these early times there were strenuous theological struggles now forgotten though they have left their traces in the legends which tell how the title of Kṛpāhna and others to divine honours was challenged. Amalgamation was the usual method of conciliation. Several gods grew sufficiently important to become in the eyes of their worshippers the supreme spirit and at least four were united in the deity of the Bhāgavatas, namely Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Viśṇu and Nārāyaṇa. Of the first three I have spoken already. Nārāyaṇa never became like Viśṇu and Kṛṣṇa a great mythological figure but in the late Vedic period he is a personification of the primordial waters from which all things sprang or of the spirit which moved in them.³ From this he easily became the supreme spirit who animates all the universe and the name was probably acceptable to those who desired a purer and simpler worship because it was connected with comparatively few legends. But there is some confusion in its use for it is applied not only to the supreme being but to a double incarnation of him called Nara, Nārāyaṇa and images of the pair may still be seen in Viśṇuīte temples.

¹ The Manikheans also had groups of five deities (see Chavannes and Pelliot in *J. A.* 1913 i. pp. 222-238) but they are probably to have been added from Buddhistism as they read.

² See Bhattacharya *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 865.

Manu i. 10-11 identifies him with Brahmi and says "The waters are called Nārah because they are produced from Nāra, and he is called Nārāyaṇa because they were his place of movement (ayana). The same statement occurs in the Nārāyaṇa.

They are said to have revealed the true doctrine to Nârada and are invoked at the beginning of each book of the Mahâbhârata¹ One of the main theses of the Nârâyaniya² is the identity of Nârâyana and Vâsudeva, the former being a Brahmanic, the latter a non-Brahmanic name for the Deity

The celebrated Bhagavad-gîtâ³ which is still held in such respect that, like the New Testament or Koran, it is used in law courts for the administration of oaths, is an early scripture of the Bhâgavata sect In it the doctrines of Krishna's divinity, the power of faith and the efficacy of grace are fully established It is declared to be too hard for flesh and blood to find by meditation their way to the eternal imperceptible spirit, whereas Krishna comes straightway to those who make him their sole desire "Set thy heart on me, become my devotee, sacrifice to me and worship thou me Then shalt thou come to me Truly I declare to thee thou art dear to me Leave all (other) religious duties and come to me as thy sole refuge I will deliver thee from thy sins Sorrow not " But the evolution of Sankarshana, etc., is not mentioned The poem has perhaps been re-edited

¹ They are said to have been the sons of Dharma (religion or righteousness) and Ahimsâ (not injuring) This is obvious allegory indicating that the Bhâgavata religion rejected animal sacrifices At the beginning of the Nârâyaniya (Sântip cccxxxv) it is said that Nârâyana the soul of the universe took birth in a quadruple form as the offspring of Dharma, viz Nara, Nârâyana, Hari and Krishna Nara and Nârâyana are often identified with Arjuna and Vâsudeva *Eg* Udyogap xxix 19

² Mahâbhâr xii

³ It is an episode in Mahâbhâr vi and in its present form was doubtless elaborated apart from the rest. But we may surmise that the incident of Krishna's removing Arjuna's scruples by a discourse appeared in the early versions of the story and also that the discourse was longer and profounder than would seem appropriate to the European reader of a tale of battles But as the Vedânta philosophy and the doctrine of Krishna's godhead developed, the discourse may have been amplified and made to include later theological views Garbe in his German translation attempts to distinguish the different strata and his explanation of the inconsistencies as due to successive redactions and additions may contain some truth But these inconsistencies in theology are common to all sectarian writings and I think the main cause for them must be sought not so much in the alteration and combination of documents, as in a mixed and eclectic mode of thought. Even in European books of the first rank inconsistencies are not unknown and they need not cause surprise in works which were not written down but committed to memory A poet composing a long religious poem in this way and feeling, as many Hindus feel, both that God is everything and also that he is a very present personal help, may very well express himself differently in different parts On the other hand the editors of such poems are undoubtedly tempted to insert in them later popular doctrines

and interpolated several times but the strata can hardly be distinguished for the whole work if not exactly paradoxical is eclectic and continually argues that what is apparently highest is not best for a particular person. The Hindus generally regard the contemplative life as the highest but the Bhagavad-gītā is insistent in enjoining unselfish action. It admits that the supreme reality cannot be grasped by the mind or expressed in speech, but it recommends the worship of a personal deity. Even the older parts of the poem appear to be considerably later than Buddhism. But its mythology if not Vedic is also hardly Puranic and it knows nothing of the legends about the pastoral Kṛishna. It presupposes the Sāṅkhya and Yoga though in what stage of development it is hard to say and in many respects its style resembles the later Upanishads. I should suppose that it assumed its present form about the time of the Christian era, rather before than after and I do not think it owes anything to direct Christian influence. In its original form it may have been considerably older.

The Bhagavad-gītā identifies Kṛishna with Vāsudeva and with Viṣṇu but does not mention Nārāyaṇa and from its general style I should imagine the Nārāyaṇīya to be a later poem. If so the evolution of Bhāgavata theology will be that Kṛishna, a great hero in a tribe lying outside the sphere of Brahmanism is first identified with Vāsudeva the god of that tribe and then both of them with Viṣṇu. At this stage the Bhagavad-gītā was composed. A later current of speculation added Nārāyaṇa to the already complex figure and a still later one not accepted by all sects brought the pastoral and amorous legends of Kṛishna. Thus the history of the Bhāgavatas illustrates the Indian disposition to combine gods and to see in each of them only an aspect of the one. But until a later period the types of divinity known as Viṣṇu and Śiva resisted combination. The worshippers of Śiva have in all periods shown less inclination than the Vishnuites to form distinct and separate bodies and the earliest Śivāite sect of which we know anything the Pāśupatas¹ arose slightly later than the Bhāgavatas.

¹ The name appears not to be in common use now but the Pāśupata school is reviewed in the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* (c. 1350).

5

Patañjali the grammarian (c 150 B C) mentions devotees of Śiva¹ and also images of Śiva and Skanda. There is thus no reason to doubt that worshippers of Śiva were recognized as a sect from at least 200 B C onwards. Further it seems probable that the founder or an early teacher of the sect was an ascetic called Lakulīn or Lakulīśa, the club-bearer. The Vāyu Purāna² makes Śiva say that he will enter an unowned corpse and become incarnate in this form at Kâyârohana, which has been identified with Kârân in Baroda. Now the Vāyu is believed to be the oldest of the Purānas, and it is probable that this Lakulīn whom it mentions lived before rather than after our era and was especially connected with the Pâśupata sect. This word is derived from Paśupati, the Lord of cattle, an old title of Rudra afterwards explained to mean the Lord of human souls. In the Śāntiparvan³ five systems of knowledge are mentioned. Sāṅkhya, Yoga, the Vedas, Pâśupatam and Pāncarâtram, promulgated respectively by Kapila, Hiranyagarbha, Apāntaratamas, Śiva the Lord of spirits and son of Brahmâ, and "The Lord (Bhagavân) himself". The author of these verses, who evidently supported the Pāncarâtra, considered that these five names represented the chief existing or permissible varieties of religious thought. The omission of the Vedânta is remarkable but perhaps it is included under Veda. Hence we may conclude that when this passage was written (that is probably before 400 A D and perhaps about the beginning of our era) there were two popular religions ranking in public

¹ Śivabhâgavata, see his comment on Pāṇini, v 3 99 and v 2 76. The name is remarkable and suggests that the Śivaites may have imitated the Bhâgavatas.

² I xxiii 209. The *Bibliotheca Ind* edition reads Nakulī. Aufrecht (*Boill MSS*) has Lakulī. The same story is found in Linga P chap xxiv. Lakulī is said to have had four pupils who founded four branches. Lakulīn does not play an important part in modern Śivaism but is mentioned in inscriptions from the tenth till the thirteenth centuries. The Sarva darśana sangraha describes the Nakulīśa Pâśupata system and quotes Nakulīśa who is clearly the same as Lakulīn. The figures on Kushan coins representing Śiva as holding a club may be meant for Lakulīn but also may be influenced by Greek figures of Herakles. See for Lakulīn Fleet in *J R A S* 1907, pp 419 ff and Bhandarkar *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism*, pp 115 ff. The coins of Wema Kadphises bear the title Mahīśvara, apparently meaning worshipper of the Great Lord. Temples in south India seem to have been named after Kâyârohana in the seventh century A D. See Gopinâtha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, II p 19.

³ Mahâbhâr xii

esteem with the philosophic and ritual doctrines of the Brahmins. The Mahābhārata contains a hymn¹ which praises Śiva under 1008 names and is not without resemblance to the Bhagavad gītā. It contains a larger number of strange epithets but Śiva is also extolled as the All God who asks for devotion and grants grace. At the close of the hymn Śiva says that he has introduced the Pāśupata religion which partly contradicts and partly agrees with the institutions of caste and the Āśramas but is blamed by fools².

These last words hint that the Pāśupatas laid themselves open to criticism by their extravagant practices such as strange sounds and gestures³. But in such matters they were outdone by other sects called Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas. These carried skulls and ate the flesh of corpses and were the fore runners of the filthy Aghoris who were frequent in northern India especially near Mount Abu and Gīrnar a century ago and perhaps are not yet quite extinct. The biographers of Śaṅkara⁴ represent him as contending with these demoniac fanatics not merely with the weapons of controversy but as urging the princes who favoured him to exterminate them.

Hindu authorities treat the Pāśupatas as distinct from the Śaivas or Śivaītes and the distinction was kept up in Cambodia in the fourteenth century. The Śaivas appear to be simply worshippers of Śiva who practice a sane ritual. In different parts of India they have peculiarities of their own but whereas the Vaiṣṇavas have split up into many sects each revering its own founder and his teaching the Śaivas if not a united body present few well marked divisions. Such as exist I shall notice below in their geographical or historical connection⁵. Most of them accept a system of theology or philosophy⁶ which starts

Mahābhār. xii. 13-22 ff. It is recited by Dakṣa when he recognizes the might of Śiva after the unfortunate incident of his sacrifice.

Śā. ti-parvan, section cclxxxv especially line 10, 4. 0 ff.

¹ See Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, chap. vi. and the comments of Rāmanuj and Śaṅkara on Vedānta Sūtras, ii. ... 35.

² E.g. Śaṅkara-dig. i) ya. The first notice of these sects appears to be an inscription at Igatpuri in the Nāsik district of about 800 A.D. recording a grant for the worship of Kāpālikas and the maintenance of Mahāvrāta (= Kāpālikas) in his temple. But doubtless the sects are much older.

³ The principal are the Pāśupatas, the Śaivasiddhāntam of southern India and the Śaivism of Kashmir.

The Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, chap. v. 1. gives a summary of it.

with three principles, all without beginning or end. These are Pati or the Lord, that is Śiva. Paśu, or the individual soul. Pâśa or the fetter, that is matter or Karma¹. The task of the soul is to get free of its fetters and attain to the state of Śiva. But this final deliverance is not quite the same as the identity with Brahman taught by the Vedânta: the soul becomes a Śiva, equal to the deity in power and knowledge but still dependent on him rather than identical with him².

Peculiar to Śaiva theology is the doctrine of the five kañcukas³ or envelopes which limit the soul. Spirit in itself is free: it is timeless and knows no restrictions of space, enjoyment, knowledge and power. But when spirit is contracted to individual experience, it can apprehend the universe only as a series of changes in time and place: its enjoyment, knowledge and power are cramped and curtailed by the limits of personality. The terminology of the Śaivas is original but the theory appears to be an elaboration of the Pâncarâtra thesis that the soul is surrounded by the sheath of Mâyâ.

The early literature of the worshippers of Śiva (corresponding to the Samhitâs of the Pâncarâtras) appears to have consisted of twenty-eight works composed in Sanskrit and called Âgamas⁴. There is fairly good evidence for their antiquity. Tirumular, one of the earliest Tamil poets who is believed to have lived in the first centuries of our era, speaks of them with enthusiasm and the Buddhist Sanskrit works called Âgamas (corresponding to

¹ The Pâsupatas seem to attach less importance to this triad, though as they speak of Pati, Paśu and the impurities of the soul there is not much difference. In their views of causation and free will they differed slightly from the Śaivas, since they held that Śiva is the universal and absolute cause, the actions of individuals being effective only in so far as they are in conformity with the will of Śiva. The Śaiva siddhânta however holds that Śiva's will is not irrespective of individual Karma, although his independence is not thereby diminished. He is like a man holding a magnet and directing the movements of needles.

² There is some difference of language and perhaps of doctrine on this point in various Śaivite works. Both Śaivites and Pâncarâtrins sometimes employ the language of the Advaita. But see Schrader, *Int. to Pâncarâtra*, pp. 91 ff.

³ The five Kañcukas (or six including Mâyâ) are strictly speaking tattvas of which the Śaivas enumerate 36 and are kâla, nityatâ, râga, vidyâ and kalâ contrasted with nityatva, vyâpakatva, pûrnatva, sarvajnatva, sarvakartṛtva which are qualities of spirit. See Chatterji, *Kashmir Śaivism*, 75 ff., 160, where he points out that the Kañcukas are essentially equivalent to Kant's "forms of perception and conception." See too Schrader, *Int. to Pâncarâtra*, 64, 90, 115.

⁴ See for names and other details Sehomerus, *Der Śaiva Siddhânta*, pp. 7, 23 also many articles in the *Siddhânta Dipikâ*.

the Pali Nikāyas) cannot be later than that period. It is highly probable that the same word was in use among both Hindus and Buddhists at the same time. And since the Mahābhārata mentions the Pāśupatam there is no difficulty in supposing that expositions of Śivaite doctrine were current in the first century A.D. or even B.C. But unless more texts of the Āgamas come to light the question of their age has little practical importance for it is said by native scholars that of the twenty-eight primary books there survive only fragments of twenty which treat of ritual besides the verses which form the text expounded at length in the Śivañānabotham¹. There are also said to be 120 Upāgamas of which only two or three have been preserved entire. Of these two have been printed in part the Mrigendra and Panahkara². The former is cited in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha (about 1330) but does not show any signs of great antiquity. It is thus clear that the Āgamas are not much studied by modern Śivaïtes but it is unhesitatingly stated that they are a revelation direct from Śiva and equal to the Veda³ and this affirmation is important even though the texts so praised are little known for it testifies to the general feeling that there are other revelations than the Veda. But the Vedas and the Vedānta Sūtras are not ignored. The latter are read in the light of Nīlakanṭha's⁴ commentary which is considered by south Indian Pandits to be prior to Śaṅkara.

They are taken from the Āgama called Raurava. The Śivaïtes of Kāñchī appear to have regarded the extant Śiva-sūtras as an Āgam.

The Sanskrit text and translation of the Mrigendra are published in the *Siddhanta Dipika*, vol. iv. 1901 ff. It is sometimes described as an Upāgama and sometimes as the Jñānapāda of the Kāmik Āgama.

¹ So Trumkār Nīlakanṭha in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras says: "I see no difference between the Veda and the Śaivāgam."

² Or Śrīkanṭha. The commentary is translated in *Siddhanta Dipika* vol. I. ff. In spite of sectarian views as to its early date, it seems to be influenced by the views and language of Rāmānuja.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ŚANKARA SIVAISM IN SOUTHERN INDIA. KASHMIR LINGÂYATS

1

AROUND the sixth century A D the decadence of Buddhism and the invigoration of Brahmanism were both well advanced. The Mahabharata existed as a great collection of epic and religious poetry and the older Puranas were already composed. Even at the present day authorities differ as to whether Śiva or Vishnu commands the allegiance of the majority and naturally it is hard to describe the distribution of sects in earlier times. The monuments of the Guptas (for instance the ruins at Eran) suggest that they were Vishnuites but a little later the cult of Śiva becomes more prominent. The Emperor Harsha (612-648) and his family were eclectic, honouring Śiva, the Sun and the Buddha, but it is not recorded that they worshipped Vishnu. Bâna who lived at his court indicates¹ that Śivaism was the predominant form of worship, but also mentions Buddhists and Bhâgavatas. Hsuan Chuang on the other hand holds him up as a devout Buddhist. Great Śivaite shrines in different parts of India such as the temple of Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa and the Kailas at Ellora were probably constructed in the seventh century and it is likely that in the defeat of Buddhism the worshippers of Śiva played an active part.

This conflict is connected with the names of Kumârla Bhaṭṭa (c 725 A D) and Śankara Âcârya (c 800 A D). It clearly represents forces which cannot be restricted to the character of individuals or the span of human lives. The elements which compose Hinduism had been vigorous long before the eighth century and Buddhism, though decadent, continued to exist in India later. But probably the careers of these two men are the best record of the decisive turn of the tide. It is often said that they revived Hinduism, but however much they insisted on the

¹ In various allusions to be found in the Kâdambari and Harshacarita.

authority of ancient tradition the real result of their labours was not to re-establish the order of things which prevailed before the rise of Buddhism but to give authority and solidity to the mixture of Brahmanism Buddhism and popular beliefs which had grown up. Kumārija is said to have been a Brahman of Bihar who was a Buddhist monk but became a worshipper of Śiva and so zealous a persecutor of his former faith that he persuaded a king of his time named Sudhanvan to exterminate it from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. This is a monstrous exaggeration but he was doubtless a determined enemy of the Buddhists as can be seen from his philosophical works¹. He taught little about metaphysics or the nature of God but he insisted on the necessity and efficacy of Vedic rites.

More important both as a thinker and an organizer was Śaṅkara. There is some discrepancy in the traditions of his birth but he was probably born about 788 A.D.² in a family of Nambutiri Brahmans at Kaladi³ in the Cochin state. Kaladi occupies a healthy position at some height above the sea level and the neighbourhood is now used as a sanatorium. The cocoa nut trees and towered temples which mark many south Indian landscapes are absent and paddy fields alternate with a jungle of flowering plants studded with clumps of bamboos. A broad river broken by sandbanks winds through the district and near the villages there are often beautiful avenues of great trees. Not far distant is Trichur which possesses a Vedic college and a large temple forbidden to Europeans but like most edifices in Malabar modest in architecture. This is not the land of giant gopurams and multitudinous sculpture but of lives dedicated

¹ The best known of these is the *Tantravārttika*, a commentary on the *Pārva-mīmāṃsā*.

This is the generally accepted date and does not appear to conflict with anything else that is at present known of Śaṅkara. An alternative suggestion is some date between 590 and 650 (see Telang, *I.A.* XIII. 1884 p. 93 and Fleet, *I.A.* XVI. 1887 p. 41). But in this case, it is very strange that I-Ching does not mention so conspicuous an enemy of the Buddhists. It does not seem to me that the use of Pūrṇavarman's name by Śaṅkara in an illustration (*Coem. on Vedānta Sūtr.* II. I. 17) necessarily implies they were contemporaries, but it does prove that he cannot have lived before Pūrṇavarman.

Another tradition says he was born at Chidambaram, but the temple at Badrinath in the Himalayas said to have been founded by him has always been served by Nambutiri Brahmans from Malabar. In 1910 a great temple erected in his honour was consecrated at Kāñchī.

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to the acquisition of traditional learning and the daily performance of complicated but inconspicuous rites

The accounts of Śankara's life are little but a collection of legends, in which, however, the following facts stand out. He was the pupil of Govinda, who was himself the pupil of Gaudapâda and this connection would be important could we be certain that this Gaudapâda was the author of the metrical treatise on philosophy bearing his name. He wrote popular hymns as well as commentaries on the Upanishads, Vedânta Sūtras and Bhagavad-gîtâ, thus recognizing both Vedic and post-Vedic literature. He resided for some time on the Nārada and at Benares, and in the course of the journeys in which like Paul he gave vent to his activity, he founded four mathas or monasteries, at Sringeri, Puri, Dwārakâ and Badrinath in the Himalaya. Near the latter he died before he was an old man. On his deathbed he is said to have asked forgiveness for going on pilgrimages and frequenting temples, because by so doing he had seemed to forget that God is everywhere.

It is clear that his work both as an author and organizer was considerable and permanent, and that much of his career was spent outside Dravidian lands. His greatest achievement was his exposition of the Vedânta, of which I treat elsewhere. He based his arguments unreservedly on the Vedic texts and aimed at being merely conservative, but those texts and even the ancient commentaries are obscure and inconsistent, and it was reserved for his genius to produce from them a system which in consistency, thoroughness and profundity holds the first place in Indian philosophy. His work did not consist, as he himself supposed, in harmonizing the Upanishads. In this department of interpretation he is as uncritical as other orthodox commentators, but he took the most profound thoughts of the old literature and boldly constructed with them a great edifice of speculation. Since his time the Vedânta has been regarded as the principal philosophy of India—a position which it does not seem to have held before—and his interpretation of it, though often contested and not suited to popular religion, still commands the respect and to some extent the adherence of most educated Hindus.

In practical religion he clearly felt, as every Indian reformer still must feel, the want of discipline and a common standard,

Though the Buddhism of his day had ceased to satisfy the needs of India, he saw that its strength lay in its morality, its relative freedom from superstition and its ecclesiastical organization. Accordingly he denounced extravagant sects¹ and forbade such practices as branding. He also instituted an order of ascetics.² In doing this he was not only trying to obtain for Hinduism the disciplinary advantages of the Buddhist church but also to break through the rule prevailing that a Brahman must first be a householder and only late in life devote himself entirely to religion. This rule did the Brahmins good service in insuring the continuity and respectability of their class but it tended to drive enthusiasts to other creeds.

It does not seem that any sect can plausibly claim Śaṅkara as founder or adherent. His real religion was Vedāntism and this though not incompatible with sectarian worship is pre-disposed to be impartial. The legend says that when summoned to his mother's deathbed, he spoke to her first of the Vedānta philosophy. But she bade him give her some consolation which she could understand. So he recited a hymn to Śiva, but when the attendants of that god appeared she was frightened. Śaṅkara then recited a hymn to Viṣṇu and when his gentler messengers came to her bedside she gave her son her blessing and allowed them to take her willing soul.

This story implies that he was ready to sanction any form of reputable worship with a slight bias towards Viṣṇuism.³ At the present day the Smārtas who consider themselves his followers have a preference for the worship of Śiva. But the basis of their faith is not Śivaism but the recognition of the

¹ His conflicts with them are described in works called Śaṅkara vijaya of which at least four are extant.

² They are called Daśanāmi which merely mean that each ascetic bears one or other of ten surnames (Śaravati, Bharati, Tirtha, etc.). See for a further account of them Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya, *Hind. Cult. and Sect.* pp. 34-370.

The order in all its branches seems to have strong pantheistic inclinations. They mutter the formula *Śivo ham* 'I am Śiva'.

³ I have been told by south Indian Pāṇḍits that they think Śaṅkara was born in a Bhāgavata family and that there is some evidence his kinsmen were trustees of a temple of Kṛṣṇa. The Śāktas also claim him, but the tradition that he opposed the Śāktas is strong and probable. Many hymns addressed to Viṣṇu, Śiva and various forms of Durgā are attributed to him. I have not been able to discover what is the external evidence for their authenticity but hymns must have been popular in south India before the time of Śaṅkara and it is eminently probable that he did not neglect this important branch of composition.

great body of Indian traditions known as Smṛiti. And that, next to Vedāntism, was the essence of Śāṅkara's teaching. He wished to regard tradition as a coherent whole, based on the eternal Veda but including authoritative Smṛiti to be interpreted in the light of the Veda, and thus he hoped to correct extravagant and partial views and to lead to those heights whence it is seen that all is one, "without difference."

The results of Śāṅkara's labours may still be seen in the organization of southern Hinduism which is more complete than in the north. It is even said that the head of the Śringeri monastery in Mysore exercises an authority over Smārta Brahmans similar to that of the Pope¹. This is probably an exaggeration but his decision is accepted as settling caste disputes, and even to-day the Śringeri math² is one of the most important religious institutions in India. The abbot, who is known as Jagadguru, is head of the Smārta Brahmans. The present occupant is said to be thirty-third in succession from Śāṅkara and numbers among his predecessors Sāyanācārya, the celebrated Vedic commentator who lived in the fourteenth century. The continued prosperity of this establishment and of other religious corporations in the Dravidian country, whereas the Mohammedans destroyed all monasteries whether Hindu or Buddhist in the north, is one of the reasons for certain differences in northern and southern Hinduism. For instance in northern India any Brahman, whatever his avocation may be, is allowed to perform religious ceremonies, whereas in the Deccan and south India Brahmans are divided into Laukikas or secular and Bhikshus or religious. The latter are householders, the name having lost its monastic sense, but they have the exclusive right of officiating and acting as Gurus and thus form a married clergy.

¹ See Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 16.

² This math has an endowment of about £5000 a year, instituted by the Kings of Vijayanagar. The Guru is treated with great respect. His palanquin is carried crossways to prevent anyone from passing him and he wears a jewelled head dress, not unlike a papal tiara, and wooden shoes covered with silver. See an interesting account of Śringeri in *J. Mythic Society* (Bangalore), vol. VIII pp. 18-33.

Schrader in his catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Adyar Library, 1908, notices an Upanishad called Mahāmāyopanishad, ascribed to Śāṅkara himself, which deals with the special qualities of the four mathas. Each is described as possessing one Veda, one Mahāvākya, etc. The second part deals with the three ideal mathas, Sumeru, Paramātman and Śāstrāthajnāna.

It is possible that the influence of Śaṅkara may have had a puritanical side which partly accounts for the degeneration of later Indian art. His higher teaching inculcated a spiritual creed which needed no shrines while for those who required rites he recommended the old Brahmanic ritual rather than the modern temple cultus. The result of this may have been that piety and learning were diverted from art so that architecture and sculpture ceased to be in touch with the best religious intelligence.

The debt of Śaṅkara to Buddhism is an interesting question. He indited polemics against it and contributed materially to its downfall but yet if the success of creeds is to be measured by the permanence of ideas there is some reason for thinking that the vanquished led the conqueror captive. Śaṅkara's approval both in theory and in practice of the monastic life is Buddhist rather than Brahmanical¹. The doctrines of Māyā and the distinction between higher and lower truth which are of cardinal importance in his philosophy receive only dubious support from the Upanishads and from Bādarāyana but are practically identical with the teachings of the Mādhyamika School of Buddhism and it was towards this line of thought rather than towards the theism of the Paśupatas or Bhāgavatas that he was drawn. The affinity was recognized in India for Śaṅkara and his school were stigmatized by their opponents as Buddhists in disguise².

2

The reader will perhaps have noticed that up to the career of Śaṅkara we have been concerned exclusively with northern India and even Śaṅkara though a native of the south lived much in the north and it was the traditional sacred lore of the north which he desired to establish as orthodoxy. Not only the older literature Brahmanic as well as Buddhist but most of the Purāṇas ignore the great stretch of Dravidian country which forms the southern portion of the peninsula and if the Rāmāyana sings of Rāma's bridge and the conquest of Lāṅka this is clearly an excursion into the realms of fancy. Yet the Dravidian dis-

¹ There is some reason to suppose that the Maṭh of Sringeri was founded on the site of a Buddhist mona (ery. See *Journal of Mythic Society* Bangalore 1910 p. 151.

² Pracch. na-bandh. See for further details Book iv chap. XXI ad fin.

tracts are ample in extent, their monuments are remarkable, their languages are cultivated, and Tamil literature possesses considerable interest, antiquity and originality. Unfortunately in dealing with these countries we experience in an unusually acute form the difficulties which beset every attempt to trace the history of ideas in India, namely, the absence of chronology. Before 1000 A.D. materials for a connected history are hardly accessible. There are, however, many inscriptions and a mass of literature (itself of disputable date) containing historical allusions, and from these may be put together not so much a skeleton or framework as pictures of ancient life and thought which may be arranged in a plausible order.

It may be said that where everything is so vague, it would be better to dismiss the whole subject of southern India and its religion, pending the acquisition of more certain information, and this is what many writers have done. But such wide regions, so many centuries, such important phases of literature and thought are involved, that it is better to run the risk of presenting them in false sequence than to ignore them. Briefly it may be regarded as certain that in the early centuries of our era Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism all flourished in Dravidian lands. The first two gradually decayed and made way for the last, although Jainism remained powerful until the tenth century. At a fairly early date there were influential Śivaite and Vishnuite sects, each with a devotional literature in the vernacular. Somewhat later this literature takes a more philosophic and ecclesiastical tinge and both sects produce a succession of teachers. Tamil Śivaism, though important for the south, has not spread much beyond its own province, but the Vishnuism associated with such eminent names as Rāmānuja and Rāmānand has influenced all India, and the latter teacher is the spiritual ancestor of the Kabīrpanthis, Sikhs and various unorthodox sects. Political circumstances too tended to increase the importance of the south in religion, for when nearly all the north was in Moslim hands the kingdom of Vijayanagar was for more than two centuries (c. 1330–1565) the bulwark of Hinduism. But in filling up this outline the possibilities of error must be remembered. The poems of Manikka-Vaṣagar have such individuality of thought and style that one would suppose them to mark a conspicuous religious movement. Yet some authorities

refer them to the third century and others to the eleventh nor has any standard been formulated for distinguishing earlier and later varieties of Tamil

I have already mentioned the view that the worship of Śiva and the Linga is Dravidian in origin and borrowed by the Aryans. There is no proof that this worship had its first home in the south and spread northwards for the Vedic and epic literature provides a sufficient pedigree for Śiva. But this deity always collected round himself attributes and epithets which are not those of the Vedic gods but correspond with what we know of non-Aryan Indian mythology. It is possible that these un-Aryan cults attained in Dravidian lands fuller and more independent development than in the countries colonized by the Aryans so that the portrait of Śiva especially as drawn by Tamil writers does retain the features of some old Dravidian deity, a deity who dances, who sports among men and bewilders them by his puzzling disguises and transformations¹. But it is not proved that Śiva was the chief god of the early Tamils. An ancient poem, the *Purra Poru Venbā Mālai*² which contains hardly any allusions to him mentions as the principal objects of worship the goddess Kottavai (Victorious) and her son Muruvan. Popular legends³ clearly indicate a former struggle between the old religion and Hinduism ending as usual in the recognition by the Brahmans of the ancient gods in a slightly modified form.

We have no records whatever of the introduction of Brahmanism into southern India but it may reasonably be supposed to have made its appearance there several centuries before our era though in what form or with what strength we cannot say. Tradition credits Agastya and Paraśu Rāma with having established colonies of Brahmans in the south at undated but remote epochs. But whatever colonization occurred was not on a large scale. An inscription found in Mysore⁴ states that Mukkanpa Kadamba (who probably lived in the third century A.D.) imported a number of Brahman families from the north.

¹ The old folklore of Bengal gives a picture of Śiva, the peasant's god, which is neither Vedic nor Dravidian. See Dinesh Chandra Sen *Bengali Lang. and Lit.* pp. 68 ff. and 230 ff.

J.R.A.S. 1899 p. 24.

See some curious examples in Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India*.

Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 97 and 201.

because he could find none in the south. Though this language may be exaggerated, it is evidence that Brahmans cannot have been numerous at that time and it is probable that Buddhism and Jainism were better represented. Three of Asoka's inscriptions have been found in Mysore and in his last edict describing his missionary efforts he includes "the kings of the Pândyas and Colas in the south" among the conquests of Buddhism. Mahinda founded a monastery in the Tanjore district and probably established Buddhism at various points of the Tamil country on his way to Ceylon¹. There is therefore no reason to be doubtful of Buddhist activity, literary or other, if evidence for it is forthcoming. Hsuan Chuang in 640 A. D. deplores the decay of Buddhism and speaks of the ruins of many old monasteries.

According to Jain tradition, which some think is supported by inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola², Bhadrabâhu accompanied by Candragupta (identified with the Maurya king of that name) led a migration of Jains from the north to Mysore about 300 B. C. The authenticity of this tradition has been much criticized but it can hardly be disputed that Jainism came to southern India about the same time as Buddhism and had there an equally vigorous and even longer existence.

Most Tamil scholars are agreed in referring the oldest Tamil literature to the first three centuries of our era and I see nothing improbable in this. We know that Asoka introduced Buddhism into south India. About the time of the Christian era there are many indications that it was a civilized country³ which maintained commercial relations with Rome and it is reasonable to suppose that it had a literature. According to native tradition there were three successive Sanghams, or Academies, at Madura. The two earlier appear to be mythical, but the third has some historical basis, although it is probable that poems belonging to several centuries have been associated with it. Among those which have been plausibly referred to the second century A. D. are the two narrative poems *Śilappadhikaram* and *Mani-*

¹ The early Brahmi inscriptions of southern India are said to be written in a Dravidian language with an admixture not of Sanskrit but of Pali words. See *Arch. Survey India*, 1911-12, Part I, p. 23.

² See Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 3-5 and Fleet's criticisms, *I. A.* xxi, 1892, p. 287.

³ The various notices in European classical authors as well as in the Sinhalese chronicles prove this.

mēkhalai as well as the celebrated collection of didactic verses known as the Kural. The first two poems especially the Mani mēkhalai are Buddhist in tone. The Kural is ethical rather than religious; it hardly mentions the deity¹; shows no interest in Brahmanic philosophy or ritual and extols a householder's life above an ascetic's. The Nāṇdiyaṛ is an anthology of somewhat similar Jain poems which as a collection is said to date from the eighth century though verses in it may be older. This Jain and Buddhist literature does not appear to have attained any religious importance or to have been regarded as even quasi-canonical but the Dravidian Hindus produced two large collections of sacred works, one Śivaite the other Viṣṇuīte which in popular esteem rival the sanctity of the Vedas. Both consist of hymns attributed to a succession of saints and still sung in the temple worship and in both sects the saints are followed by a series of teachers and philosophers. We will take the Śivaītes first.

3

Their collection of hymns is known as Tirumurai and was compiled by Nambi Andar Nambi said to have lived under King Rājārāja (c. 1000 A.D.). The first portion of it known as Devāraṁ contains the hymns of Sambandha Appar and Sundara. These persons are the most eminent of the sixty-three saints² of the southern Śivaītes and are credited with many miracles. Tamil scholars³ consider that Sambandha cannot have lived later than the beginning of the seventh century. He was an adversary of the Jains and Appar is said to have been persecuted by the Buddhists. Of the other works comprised in the Tirumurai the most important is the Tiruvāṇṇam of Mānikka Vāṇṇagar⁴, one of the finest devotional poems which India can show. It is not like the Bhagavad gītā an exposition by the deity but an outpouring of the soul to the deity. It only incidentally explains the poet's views; its main purpose is to tell of his emotions, experiences and aspirations. This character

¹ Except in the first chapter.

A complete list of them is given in Foulkes, *C. trichism of the Shāstra religion* 1883, p. 21.

² *Tamiliana Antiquary* 3, 1909 pp. 1-65.

Edited and translated by Popo, 1900.

istic seems not to be personal but to mark the whole school of Tamil Śaiva writers

This school, which is often called the Siddhânta¹, though perhaps that term is better restricted to later philosophical writers, is clearly akin to the Pâśupata but alike in thought, sentiment and ritual far more refined. It is in fact one of the most powerful and interesting forms which Hinduism has assumed and it has even attracted the sympathetic interest of Christians. The fervour of its utterances, the appeals to God as a loving father, seem due to the temperament of the Tamils, since such sentiments do not find so clear an expression in other parts of India. But still the whole system, though heated in the furnace of Dravidian emotion, has not been recast in a new mould. Its dogmas are those common to Śivaism in other parts and it accepts as its ultimate authority the twenty-eight Śaiva Āgamas. This however does not detract from the beauty of the special note and tone which sound in its Tamil hymns and prayers.

Whatever the teaching of the little known Āgamas may be, the Śaiva-Siddhânta is closely allied to the Yoga and theistic forms of the Sâṅkhya. It accepts the three ultimates, Pati the Lord, Paśu his flock or souls, and Pâśa the fetter or matter. So high is the first of these three entities exalted, so earnestly supplicated, that he seems to attain a position like that of Allah in Mohammedanism, as Creator and Disposer. But in spite of occasional phrases, the view of the Yoga that all three—God, souls and matter—are eternal is maintained². Between the world periods there are pauses of quiescence and at the end of these Śiva evolves the universe and souls. That he may act in them he also evolves from himself his energy or Paraçatti (Sk. Śakti). But this does not prevent the god himself in a personal and often visible form from being for his devotees the one central and living reality. The Śakti, often called Umâ, is merely Śiva's reflex and hardly an independent existence.

¹ Established opinion or doctrine. Used by the Jains as a name for their canon.

² Thus the catechism of the Śaiva religion by Sabhapati Mudaliyar (transl. Foulkes, 1863) after stating emphatically that the world is created also says that the soul and the world are both eternal. Also just as in the Bhagavad-gītâ the ideas of the Vedânta and Sâṅkhya are incongruously combined, so in the Tiruvaçagam (e.g. Pope's edition, pp. 49 and 138) Śiva is occasionally pantheized. He is the body and the soul, existence and non-existence, the false and the true, the bond and the release.

The remarkable feature of this religion, best seen in the *Tiruvāṇṇam*, is the personal tie which connects the soul with God. In no literature with which I am acquainted has the individual religious life—its struggles and dejection its hopes and fears its confidence and its triumph—received a delineation more frank and more profound. Despite the strangely exotic colouring of much in the picture not only its outline but its details strikingly resemble the records of devout Christian lives in Europe. *Siva* is addressed not only as Lord but as Father. He loves and desires human souls. Hard though it is for *Brahmā* and *Vishnu* to reach thee yet thou didst desire me. What the soul desires is deliverance from matter and life with *Siva* and this he grants by bestowing grace (*Arul*). With mother love he came in grace and made me his. O thou who art to thy true servants true. 'To thee O Father may I attain may I yet dwell with thee. Sometimes¹ the poet feels that his sins have shut him off from communion with God. He lies like a worm in the midst of ants gnawed by the senses and troubled sore ejaculating in utter misery. Thou hast forsaken me. But more often he seems on the point of expressing a thought commoner in Christianity than in Indian religion namely that the troubles of this life are only a preparation for future beatitude. The idea that matter and suffering are not altogether evil is found in the later *Sāṅkhya* where *Prakṛiti* (which in some respects corresponds to *Śakti*) is represented as a generous female power working in the interests of the soul.

Among the many beauties of the *Tiruvāṇṇam* is one which reminds us of the works of St. Francis and other Christian poetry namely the love of nature and animals especially birds and insects. There are constant allusions to plants and flowers the refrain of one poem calls on a dragon fly to sing the praises of God and another bids the bird known as *Kuyil* call him to come. In another ode the poet says he looks for the grace of God like a patient heron watching night and day.

The first perusal of these poems impresses on the reader their resemblance to Christian literature. They seem to be a tropical version of Hymns Ancient and Modern and to ascribe to the deity and his worshippers precisely those sentiments

¹ E.g. Hymn vi.

be partly explained by the fact that in the south Brahmanism was preceded, or at least from early times accompanied, by Buddhism and Jainism. These creeds did not make a conquest, for the Dravidian temperament obviously needed a god who could receive and reward passionate devotion, but they cleared the air and spread such ideas as the superiority of good deeds to rites and the uselessness of priests. Even now verses expressing these thoughts are popular in the Madras Presidency, but the sect which produced them, known as the Sittars¹, is entirely extinct. Caldwell attributes its literature to the seventeenth century, but the evidence available is small and it is clear that this theistic anti-brahmanic school had a long life. As in other cases, the Brahmans did not suppress so much as adapt it. The collection which goes by the name of Śiva-vākyaṃ contains poems of different ages and styles. Some are orthodox, others have no trace of Brahmanism except the use of Śiva as the name of the deity. Yet it would seem that the anthology as a whole has not fallen under sacerdotal censure².

The important sect of the Lingāyats should perhaps be regarded as an offshoot of this anti-brahmanic school, but before describing it, it may be well briefly to review the history of orthodox Śivaism in the south.

By this phrase is not meant the sect or school which had the support of Śaṅkara but that which developed out of the poems mentioned above without parting company with Brahmanism. Śaṅkara disapproved of their doctrine that the Lord is the efficient cause of the world, nor would the substitution of vernacular for Sanskrit literature and temple ceremonies for Vedic sacrifices have found favour with him. But these were evidently strong tendencies in popular religion. An important portion of the Devāram and the Kanda Purāṇa of Kāchiyappar, a Tamil adaptation of the Skanda Purāṇa, were probably written between 600 and 750 A.D.³ About 1000 A.D. the Tirumurai (including the Devāram) was arranged as a collection in eleven parts, and about a century later Sekkilar composed the Periya Purāṇa, a poetical hagiology, giving the legends of

¹ Sanskrit *Siddha*

² Space forbids me to quote the Śiva vākyaṃ and Paṭṭanaṭṭu Pillai, interesting as they are. The reader is referred to Gover, *Folk Songs of southern India*, 1871, a work which is well worth reading.

³ The date of the Skanda Purāṇa creates no difficulty for Bendall considered a MS. of it found in Nepal to be anterior to 659 A.D.

Śivaite saints and shrines. Many important temples were dedicated to Śiva during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

There followed a period of scholasticism in which the body of doctrine called the Śaiva Siddhānta was elaborated by four Ācāryas namely Mey kaṇḍa-Devar¹ (1223) Aruṇandi Marai āṇa-Sambandhar and Umāpati (1313). It will thus be seen that the foundation of Śivaite philosophy in Tamil is later than Rāmānuja and the first Viśhnuite movements and perhaps it was influenced by them but the methodical exposition of the Śaiva-Siddhāntam² does not differ materially from the more poetic utterances of the Tiruvaṇṇāgāram. It recognizes the three entities the Lord the soul and matter as separate but it shows a tendency (doubtless due to the influence of the Vedānta) both to explain away the existence of matter and to identify the soul with the Lord more closely than its original formulæ allow. Matter is described as Māyā and is potentially contained in the Lord who manifests it in the creative process which begins each kalpa. The Lord is also said to be one with our souls and yet other. The soul is by nature ignorant in bondage to the illusion of Māyā and of Karma, but by the grace of the Lord it attains to union (not identity) with him in which it sees that its actions are his actions.

In modern times Śaiva theology is represented among Dravidians by the works of Śivānāṇar (1785) and his disciple Kaṇḍiappār also by the poems of Rāmaṅga. Śivaism in Madras and other parts of southern India is still a vigorous and progressive Church which does not neglect European methods. Its principal organ is an interesting magazine called Siddhānta Dipikā or the Light of Truth. In northern India the Śivaītes are less distinct as a body and have less organization but temples to Śiva are numerous and perhaps the majority of Brahmans and ascetics regard him as their special deity and read Śivaite rather than Viśhnuite texts. But it is probably also true that they are not sectarian in the same sense as the worshippers of Kṛiṣṇa.

It is not easy to estimate the relative numbers of Śivaītes and Viśhnuītes in south India and good authorities hold

¹ One of his maxims was *adā adā dāda*, that is the mind becomes that (spiritual or material) with which it identifies itself most completely.

² It is contained in fourteen āṣṭakas, most of which are attributed to the four teachers mentioned above.

opposite views The Śivaïtes are more united than the Viṣṇuïtes (whose many divisions and conspicuous sectarian marks attract attention) and are found chiefly among the upper classes and among ascetics, but perhaps there is much truth in an opinion which I once heard expressed by a Tamil Brahman, that the real division is not between the worshippers of Śiva and of Viṣṇu, but between Smârtas, those who follow more or less strictly the ancient ritual observances and those who seek for salvation by devotion and in practice neglect the Sanskrit scriptures There is little hostility The worship of both gods is sometimes performed in the same building as at Chidambaram or in neighbouring shrines, as at Śrīrangam In south Kanara and Travancore it is generally held that the two deities are of equal greatness and in many places are found images representing them united in one figure But the great temples at Madura, Tinnevely and Tanjore are all dedicated to Śiva or members of his family If in the philosophical literature of the Siddhānta the purity of the theism taught is noticeable, in these buildings it is rather the rich symbolism surrounding the god which attracts attention In his company are worshipped Parvatī, Gaṇeśa, Subrahmanya, the bull Nandi and minor attendants he is shown leaping in the ecstasy of the dance and on temple walls are often depicted his sixty-four sports or miracles (līlā) For the imagination of the Dravidians he is a great rhythmic force, throbbing and exulting in all the works of nature and exhibiting in kindly playfulness a thousand antics and a thousand shapes

4

Another school of Śivaïte philosophy flourished in Kashmir¹ from the ninth century onwards and is not yet extinct among Pandits It bases itself on the Āgamas and includes among them the still extant Śiva-sūtras said to have been discovered as revelation by Vasugupta He lived about 800 A D and abandoned Buddhism for Śivaïsm The school produced a dis-

¹ For the Kashmir school see Barnett in *Muséon*, 1909, pp 271-277 *J R A S* 1910, pp 707-747 Kashmir Sanskrit series, particularly vol II entitled *Kashmir Śaivism* The Śiva sūtras and the commentary Vimarśinī translated in *Indian Thought*, 1911-12 Also Śrīnivasa Iyengar, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp 168-175 and *Sarva darśana sangraha*, chap VIII

tinguished line of literary men who flourished from the ninth to the eleventh centuries¹

The most recent authorities state that the Kashmir school is one and that there is no real opposition between the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā sections². The word Spanda equivalent to the godhead and ultimate reality is interesting for it means vibration accompanied by consciousness or so to speak self-conscious ether. The term Pratyabhijñā or recognition is more frequent in the later writings. Its meaning is as follows. Śiva is the only reality and the soul is Śiva but Māyā³ forces on the soul a continuous stream of sensations. By the practice of meditation it is possible to interrupt the stream and in those moments light illuminates the darkness of the soul and it recognizes that it is Śiva, which it had forgotten. Also the world is wholly unreal apart from Śiva. It exists by his will and in his mind. What seems to the soul to be cognition is really recognition for the soul (which is identical with the divine mind but blinded and obstructed) recognizes that which exists only in the divine mind.

It has been held that Kashmirian Śivaism is the parent of the Dravidian Śaiva Siddhānta and spread from Kashmir southwards by way of Kalyan in the eleventh century and this hypothesis certainly receives support from the mention of Kashmiri Brahmins in south Indian inscriptions of the fourteenth century⁴. Yet I doubt if it is necessary to assume that south Indian Śivaism was derived from Kashmir for the worship of Śiva must have been general long before the eleventh century⁵ and Kashmiri Brahmins, far from introducing Śivaism to the south are more likely to have gone thither because they were sure of a good reception whereas they were exposed to Moslim

Among them may be mentioned Kallat author of the *Spanda Kārikā* and Somānand of the *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, who both flourished about 850-900. Utpala, who composed the *Pratyabhijñā-kārikā* lived some fifty years later and in the eleventh century Abhinava Gupta and Kāśhmarīja composed numerous commentaries.

¹ Kashmirian Śivaism is often called Trika, that is tripartite, because, like other varieties, it treats of three ultimates *Śiva*, *Śakti* *Assa* or *Patā*, *Paśu* *Pada*. But it has a decided tendency towards monism.

² Also called the Śakti or Mātṛika.

³ See *Epig. Carn.* vii. Sk. 114, 18, 20 and *Jour. Mythic Society* 1917 pp. 178, 180.

To say nothing of Śivaite temples like the K. at Ellora, the chief doctrines and even the terminology of Śivaite philosophy are mentioned by Śaṅkara on Ved. Sūtras, II. 2. 37.

persecution in their own country. Also the forms which Śivaism assumed in these two outlying provinces present differences. In Kashmir it was chiefly philosophic, in the Dravidian countries chiefly religious. In the south it calls on God to help the sinner out of the mire, whereas the school of Kashmir, especially in its later developments, resembles the doctrine of Śankara, though its terminology is its own.

Before the advent of Islam, Kashmir was a secluded but cultured land. Its pleasant climate and beautiful scenery, said to have been praised by Gotama himself¹, attracted and stimulated thinkers and it had some importance in the history of Buddhism and of the Pancarâtra as well as for Śivaism. It is connected with the Buddhist sect called Saivâstivâdins and in this case the circumstances seem clear. The sect did not originate in Kashmir but its adherents settled there after attending the Council of Kanishka and made it into a holy land. Subsequently, first Vishnuism and then Śivaism² entered the mountain valleys and flourished there. Kashmirian thinkers may have left an individual impress on either system but they dealt with questions which had already been treated of by others and their contributions, though interesting, do not seem to have touched the foundations of belief or to have inspired popular movements. The essential similarity of all Śivaite schools is so great that coincidences even in details do not prove descent or borrowing and the special terms of Kashmirian philosophy, such as *spanda* and *pratyabhijñā*, seem not to be used in the south.

The Śiva-sûtras consist of three sections, describing three methods of attaining *svacchanda* or independence. One (the gist of which has been given above) displays some though not great originality; the second is Śâktist, the third follows the ordinary prescriptions of the Yoga. All Śivaite philosophy is really based on this last and teaches the existence of matter, souls and a deity, manifested in a series of phases. The relations of these three ultimates are variously defined, and they may be identified with one another, for the Sâmkhya-Yoga doctrine may be com-

¹ In the Samyuktavastu, chap. XL (transl. in *J.A.* 1914, II pp. 534, etc.) the Buddha is represented as saying that Kashmir is the best land for meditation and leading a religious life.

² Chatterji, *Kashmir Śaivism*, p. 11, thinks that Abhinava Gupta's *Paramârtha sâra*, published by Barnett, was an adaptation of older verses current in India and called the Âdhâra Kârikâs.

bined (though not very consistently) with the teaching of the Vedānta. In Kashmirian Śaivism Vedāntist influences seem strong and it even calls itself Advaita. It is noteworthy that Vasugupta who *discovered* the Śiva-sūtras also wrote a commentary on the Bhagavad gītā.

The gist of the matter is that since a taste for speculation is far more prevalent in India than in Europe there exist many systems of popular philosophy which being a mixture of religion and metaphysics involve two mental attitudes. The ordinary worshipper implores the Lord to deliver him from the bondage of sin and matter the philosopher and saint wish to show that thought is one and such ideas as sin and matter partial and illusory. The originality of the Śaiva Siddhānta lies less in its dogmas than in its devotional character in the feeling that the soul is immersed in darkness and struggles upwards by the grace of the Lord so that the whole process of Karma and Māyā is really beneficent.

5

As already mentioned Śaivism has an important though unorthodox offshoot in the Lingāyats¹ or Lingavants. It appears that they originated at Kalyan (now in the Nizam's dominions) at the time when a usurper named Bijjala (1156-1167) had seized the throne of the Chalukyas. Their founder was Basava (the vernacular form of Vṛishabha) assisted by his nephew Channabasava² whose exploits and miracles are recorded in two Purāṇas composed in Kanarese and bearing their respective names. According to one story Bijjala who was a Jain persecuted the Lingāyats and was assassinated by them. But there are other versions and the early legends of the sect merit little credence. The Lingāyats are Puritans. They reject caste the supremacy of the Brahmans sacrifices and other rites and all the later Brahmanic literature. In theory they reverence the Vedas but practically the two Purāṇas mentioned are their

¹ See Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of southern India*, 2^d vol. iv pp. 236-291 and *Geetiaer of the Bombay Presidency* vol. xxiii article Bijapur pp. 219-1884.

² An inscription found at Abbur in Dharwar also mentions Ramayya as a champion of Śivaite monotheism. He is perhaps the same as Channabasava. The Lingāyats maintain that Basava merely revived the old true religion of Śiva and founded nothing new.

sacred books¹ They are strict vegetarians and teetotallers they do not insist on child marriages nor object to the remarriage of widows Their only object of worship is Śiva in the form of a lingam and they always carry one suspended round the neck or arm It is remarkable that an exceptionally severe and puritanical sect should choose this emblem as its object of worship, but, as already observed, the lingam is merely a symbol of the creative force and its worship is not accomplished by indecent rites² They hold that true Lingâyats are not liable to be defiled by births or deaths, that they cannot be injured by sorcery and that when they die their souls do not transmigrate but go straight to Śiva No prayers for the dead are needed

Though trustworthy details about the rise of the Lingâyats are scarce, we can trace their spiritual ancestry They present in an organized form the creed which inspired Paṭṭanaṭṭu Pillai in the tenth century About a hundred years later came Râmânuja who founded a great Vishnuite Church and it is not surprising if the Śivaites followed this example, nor if the least orthodox party became the most definitely sectarian

The sectarian impulse which is conspicuous after the eleventh century was perhaps stimulated by the example of Moham-medanism There was little direct doctrinal influence, but a religious people like the Hindus can hardly have failed to notice the strength possessed by an association worshipping one god of its own and united by one discipline Syrian Christianity also might have helped to familiarize the Lingâyats with the idea of a god not to be represented by images or propitiated by sacrifices, but there is no proof that it was prevalent in the part of the Deccan where they first appeared

The Lingâyats spread rapidly after Basava's death³ They still number about two millions and are to be found in most Kanarese-speaking districts They are easily recognizable for all carry the lingam, which is commonly enclosed in a red scarf

¹ They have also a book called *Prabhuling lila*, which is said to teach that the deity ought to live in the believer's soul as he lives in the lingam, and collections of early Kanarese sermons which are said to date from the thirteenth century

² The use of the Langa by this sect supports the view that even in its origin the symbol is not exclusively phallic

³ Their creed is said to have been the state religion of the Wodeyars of Mysore (1399-1600) and of the Nayaks of Keladi, Ikken or Bednur (1550-1763)

worn round the neck or among the richer classes in a silver box. It is made of grey soapstone and a Lingayat must on no account part with it for a moment. They are divided into the laity and the Jangams or priests. Some of these marry but others are itinerant ascetics who wander over India frequenting especially the five Simhāsanas or Lingayat seats¹. They are treated with extreme respect by the laity and sometimes wear fantastic costumes such as plates resembling armour or little bells which announce their approach as they walk.

In doctrine the Lingayats remain faithful to their original tenets and do not worship any god or goddess except Śiva in the form of the Lingam though they show respect to Gaṇeśa and other deities as also to the founder of their sect. But in social matters it is agreed by all observers that they show a tendency to reintroduce caste and to minimize the differences separating them from more orthodox sects. According to Basava's teaching all members of the community both men and women are equal. But though converts from all castes are still accepted it was found at the last census that well-to-do Lingayats were anxious to be entered under the name of Vīrāśaiva Brahmins, Kshatriyas etc. and did not admit that caste distinctions are obliterated among them. Similarly though the remarriage of widows is not forbidden there is a growing tendency to look at it askance.

¹ At Hadur, Ujjeni, Benares, Śrīsaṅgam and Kedarnāth in the Himalayas. In every Lingayat village there is a monastery allied to one of these five establishments. The great importance attached to monastic institutions is perhaps due to Jain influence.

CHAPTER XXIX

VISHNUISM IN SOUTH INDIA

I

THOUGH Śivaism can boast of an imposing array of temples, teachers and scriptures in the north as well as in the south, yet Vishnuism was equally strong and after 1000 A D perhaps stronger. Thus Alberuni writing about north-western India in 1030 A D mentions Śiva and Durgâ several times incidentally but devotes separate chapters to Nârâyana and Vâsudeva, he quotes copiously from Vishnuite works¹ but not from sectarian Śivaite books. He mentions that the worshippers of Vishnu are called Bhâgavatas and he frequently refers to Râma. It is clear that in giving an account of Vishnuism he considered that he had for all practical purposes described the religion of the parts of India which he knew.

In their main outlines the histories of Vishnuism and Śivaism are the same. Both faiths first assumed a definite form in northern India, but both flourished exceedingly when transplanted to the south and produced first a school of emotional hymn writers and then in a maturer stage a goodly array of theologians and philosophers as well as offshoots in the form of eccentric sects which broke loose from Brahmanism altogether. But Vishnuism having first spread from the north to the south returned from the south to the north in great force, whereas the history of Śivaism shows no such reflux². Śivaism remained comparatively homogeneous, but Vishnuism gave birth from the eleventh century onwards to a series of sects or Churches still extant and forming exclusive though not mutually hostile associations. The chief Churches or Sampradâyas bear the names of Sanakâdi, Śrî, Brahmâ and Rudra. The first three were founded by Nimbâditya, Râmânuja and Madhva respectively.

¹ Such as the Vishṇu Purâṇa, Vishnu Dharma, said to be a section of the Garuda Purâṇa and the Bhagavad gîtâ.

² The Hindus are well aware that the doctrine of Bhakti spread from the south to the north. See the allegory quoted in *J R A S* 1911, p. 800.

The Rādra-sampradāya was rendered celebrated by Vallabha though he was not its founder.

The belief and practice of all Vishnuites alike is a modified monotheism—the worship of the Supreme Being under some such name as Rāma or Vāsudeva. But the monotheism is not perfect. On the one hand it passes into pantheism; on the other it is not completely disengaged from mythology and in all sects the consort and attendants of the deity receive great respect even if this respect is theoretically distinguished from adoration. Nearly all sects reject sacrifice *in toto* and make the basis of salvation emotional—namely devotion to the deity and as a counterpart to this the chief characteristic of the deity is loving condescension or grace. The theological philosophy of each sect is nearly always whatever name it may bear a variety of the system known as Viśiṣṭādvaita or qualified monism which is not unlike the Sāṅkhya Yoga.¹ For Vishnuites as for Śaivaites there exist God, the soul and matter but most sects shrink from regarding them as entirely separate and bridge over the differences with various theories of emanations and successive manifestations of the deity. But for practical religion the soul is entangled in matter and with the help of God struggles towards union with him. The precise nature and intimacy of this union has given rise to as many subtle theories and phrases as the sacraments in Europe. Vishnuites in all parts of India show a tendency to recognize vernacular works as their scriptures but they also attach great importance to the Upanishads, the Bhāgavad gītā, the Nārāyaṇīya and the Vedānta Sūtras. Each has a special interpretation of these last which becomes to some extent its motto.

But these books belong to the relatively older literature. Many Vishnuites or rather Krishnaites works composed from the eighth century onwards differ from them in tone and give prominence to the god's amorous adventures with the Gopis and (still later) to the personality of Rādhā. This ecstatic and sentimental theology though found in all parts of India is more prevalent in the north than in the south. Its great text-book is the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The same spirit is found in

¹ Thus Rāmānuja says (Śrī Bhāṣya, II ... 43) that the Vedānta Sūtras do not refute the Sāṅkhya and Yoga but merely certain erroneous views as to Brahman not being the self.

Jayadeva's *Gītā-govinda*, apparently composed in Bengal about 1170 A D and reproducing in a polished form the religious dramas or *Yātras* in which the life of Krishna is still represented

2

The sect¹ founded by Nimbārka or Nimbāditya has some connection with this poem Its chief doctrine is known as *dvaitādvaitamata*, or dualistic non-duality, which is explained as meaning that, though the soul and matter are distinct from God, they are yet as intimately connected with him as waves with water or the coils of a rope with the rope itself This doctrine is referred to in the religious drama called *Prabodhacandrodaya*, probably composed at the end of the eleventh century The *Nimāvats*, as the adherents of the sect are called, are found near Muttra and in Bengal It is noticeable that this sect, which had its origin in northern India, is said to have been persecuted by the Jains² and to have been subsequently revived by a teacher called Nivāsa This may explain why in the twelfth century Vishnuism flourished in the south rather than in the north³ Less is known of the Nimbārkas than of the other sects They worship Krishna and Rādhā and faith in Krishna is said to be the only way to salvation Krishna was the deity of the earliest bhakti-sects Then in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a reaction in favour of Rāma as a more spiritual deity, but subsequently Vallabha and Caitanya again made the worship of Krishna popular Nimbārka expressed his views in a short commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and also in ten verses containing a compendium of doctrine⁴.

¹ It has been described as the earliest of the Vishnuite Churches and it would be so if we could be sure that the existence of the doctrine called *Dvaitādvaita* was equivalent to the existence of the sect But Bhandarkar has shown some reason for thinking that Nimbāditya lived after Rāmānuja It must be admitted that the worship of Rādhā and the doctrine of self-surrender or *prapatti*, both found in the *Daśaśloki*, are probably late

² See Grierson in *E R E* vol II p 457

³ The Church of the *Nimāvats* is also called *Sanakādi sampradāya* because it professes to derive its doctrine from Sanaka and his brethren who taught Nārada, who taught Nimbārka At least one sub sect founded by Harivamsa (born 1559) adopts a doctrine analogous to Saktism and worships Rādhā as the manifestation of Krishna's energy

⁴ Called the *Daśaśloki* It is translated in Bhandarkar's *Vaishn and Survism*, pp 63-5

extract consisting of 602 verses selected for use in daily worship is in part accessible¹ This poetry shows the same ecstatic devotion and love of nature as the Tiruvaçagam It contemplates the worship of images and a temple ritual consisting in awakening the god at morning and attending on him during the day It quotes the Upanishads and Bhagavad-gîtâ, assumes as a metaphysical basis a vedantized form of the Sâṅkhya philosophy, and also accepts the legends of the pastoral Krishna but without giving much detail Jains, Buddhists and Śaivas are blamed and the repetition of the name Govinda is enjoined Though the hymns are not anti-Brahmanic they decidedly do not contemplate a life spent in orthodox observances and their reputed authors include several Śûdras, a king and a woman

After the poet-saints came the doctors and theologians Accounts of them, which seem historical in the main though full of miraculous details, are found in the Tamil biographies² illustrating the apostolic succession of teachers It appears fairly certain that Râmânuja, the fourth in succession, was alive in 1118 the first, known as Nâthamuni, may therefore have lived 100–150 years earlier None of his works are extant but he is said to have arranged the poems of the Ârvârs for recitation in temple services He went on a pilgrimage to northern India and according to tradition was an adept in Yoga, being one of the last to practise it in the south Third in succession was his grandson Yamunârcârya (known as Âlavandâr or victor), who spent the first part of his life as a wealthy layman but was converted and resided at Śrîrangam Here he composed several important works in Sanskrit including one written to establish the orthodoxy of the Pañcarâtra and its ritual³

Namm'ârvâr respectively The fourth part or Iyar pa is like the first a miscellany containing further compositions by these two as well as by others

¹ Nityânusandhânam series edited with Telugu paraphrase and English translation by M. B. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Madras, 1898

² The best known is the Guru paramparâ-prabhâvam of Brahmatantra svatantra swâmi For an English account of these doctors see T. Râjagopala Chariar, *The Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, Madras, 1909

³ Âgamaprâmânya He also wrote a well known hymn called Âlavandâr Stotram and a philosophical treatise called Siddhi traya

4

He was succeeded by Rāmānuja a great name in Indian theology both as the organizer of a most important sect and if not the founder¹ at least the accepted exponent of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. Rāmānuja was born at Śrīperumbudur² near Madras where he is still commemorated by a celebrated shrine. As a youth he studied Śivaite philosophy at Conjevaram but abandoned it for Viśhnuism. He appears to have been a good administrator. He made the definitive collection of the hymns of the Ārvārs and is said to have founded 700 maṭhas and 80 hereditary abbotships for he allowed the members of his order to marry. He visited northern India including Kashmir if tradition may be believed but his chief residence was Śrīrangam. Towards the end of the eleventh century however the hostility of the Chola King Kulottunga who was an intolerant Śivaite forced him to retire to Mysore. Here he was protected by King Viṣṭala Deva whom he converted from Jainism and on the death of Kulottunga in 1118 he returned to Śrīrangam where he ended his days. In the temple there his tomb and a shrine where his image receives divine honours may still be seen. His best known work³ is the Śrī Bhāṣya or commentary on the Vedānta sūtras.

The sect which he founded is known as the Śrī Sampradāya and its members as the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. As among the Śivaites revelation is often supposed to be made by Śiva through Śakti so here the Lord is said to have revealed the truth to his consort Śrī or Lakṣmī she to a demigod called Viśvakṣena and he to Namm Ārvār from whom Rāmānuja was eighth in spiritual descent. Though the members of the sect are sometimes called Rāmāites the personality of Rāma plays a small part in their faith especially as expounded by Rāmānuja. As names for the deity he uses Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva and he quotes freely from

¹ He states himself that he followed Boddhāyana, a commentator on the Sūtras of unknown date but anterior to Śaṅkara. He quotes several other commentators particularly Dramiḍa, so that his school must have had a long line of teachers.

See *Gems of India* vol. XXIII. &c. There is a Kanarese account of his life called Dīvyā-caritra. For his life and teaching see also Bhandarkar in *Berkeley VIII Int. Orient. Congress*, 1886, pp. 101 ff. Lives in English have been published at Madras by Alkondaville Govindācārya (1906) and Kṛishnaswami Aiyengar (? 1909).

² He also wrote the Vedārtha Saṅgraha, Vedārtha Pradīpa, Vedānta Sāra and a commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā.

the Bhagavad-gîtâ and the Vishnu Purâna Compared with the emotional deism of Caitanya this faith seems somewhat philosophic and reticent

Râmânûja clearly indicates its principal points in the first words of his Śrî Bhâshya "May my mind be filled with devotion towards the highest Brahman, the abode of Lakshmî, who is luminously revealed in the Upanishads who in sport produces, sustains and reabsorbs the entire universe whose only aim is to foster the manifold classes of beings that humbly worship him¹" He goes on to say that his teaching is that of the Upanishads, "which was obscured by the mutual conflict of manifold opinions," and that he follows the commentary of Bodhâyana and other teachers who have abridged it

That is to say, the form of Vishnuism which Râmânûja made one of the principal religions of India claims to be the teaching of the Upanishads, although he also affiliates himself to the Bhâgavatas He interprets the part of the Vedânta Sûtras which treats of this sect² as meaning that the author states and ultimately disallows the objections raised to their teaching and he definitely approves it "As it is thus settled that the highest Brahman or Nârâyana himself is the promulgator of the entire Pancarâtra and that this system teaches the nature of Nârâyana and the proper way of worshipping him, none can disestablish the view that in the Pancarâtra all the other doctrines are comprised³"

The true tradition of the Upanishads he contends has been distorted by "manifold opinions," among which the doctrine of Śankara was no doubt the chief That doctrine was naturally distasteful to devotional poets, and from the time of Nâthamuni onwards a philosophic reaction against it grew up in Śrîrangam Râmânûja preaches the worship of a loving God, though when we read that God produces and reabsorbs the universe in sport, we find that we are farther from Christianity than we at first supposed There is a touch of mythology in the mention of Lakshmî⁴ but it is clear that Râmânûja himself had little liking for mythology He barely mentions Râma and Krishna in the Śrî Bhâshya nor does he pay much attention to the consort of

¹ *S B E* XLVIII. p 3

² II 2 36-39

³ II 2 43 *ad fin*

⁴ Râmânûja's introduction to the Bhagavad-gîtâ is more ornate but does not go much further in doctrine than the passage here quoted.

the deity. On the other hand he shows no sign of rejecting the ritual and regulations of the Brahmins. He apparently wished to prove that the doctrine of salvation by devotion to a personal god is compatible with a system as strictly orthodox as Śaṅkara's own.

I shall treat elsewhere of his philosophy known as the Viśiṣṭādvaita or non-duality which yet recognizes a distinction between God and individual souls. The line of thought is old and at all periods is clearly a compromise unwilling to deny that God is everything and yet dissatisfied with the idea that a personal deity and our individual transmigrating souls are all merely illusion. Devotional therism was growing in Rāmānuja's time. He could not break with the Upanishads and Vedantic tradition but he adapted them to the needs of his day. He taught firstly that the material world and human souls are not illusion but so to speak the body of God who comprises and pervades them. secondly this God is omniscient omnipotent almighty and all merciful and salvation (that is mokṣa or deliverance from transmigration) is obtained by those souls who assisted by his grace meditate on him and know him. thirdly this salvation consists not in absorption into God but in his full existence near him and in participation of his glorious qualities. He further held¹ that God exists in five modes namely (a) Īśa the entire supreme spirit (b) the fourfold manifestation as Vācudeva Śaṅkarṣaṇa Iśvaryamṇa and Aniruddha (c) incarnations such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (d) the internal controller or Antaryāmin according to the text² who abiding in the soul rules the soul within (e) duly consecrated images.

The followers of Rāmānuja are at present divided into two schools known as Tēngalāl and Vādagalāl or southern and northern³. The double residence of the founder is one reason for the division. Since both Mysore and Trichinopoly could claim to have personal knowledge of his teaching. The really important difference seems to be that the Tēngalāl or southern school is inclined to break away from Sanskrit tradition to ignore the Vedas in practice and to regard the Tamil Nālāyiram as an

¹ This fivefold manifestation of the deity is a characteristic Pāncarātra doctrine. See Schrader *Int.* pp. 23, 51 and *Śrī Rāmānuja*, II. 1...

² See Br. Ar. Up. III. 7. The Śrī Vaiṣṇavas attach great importance to this chapter.

³ Only relatively northern and southern. Neither flourish in what we call northern India.

all-sufficient scripture, whereas the Vadagalais, though not rejecting the Nâlâyiram, insist on the authority of the Vedas. But both divisions are scrupulous about caste observances and the ceremonial purity of their food. They are separated by nice questions of doctrine, especially as to the nature of prapatti, resignation or self-surrender to the deity, a sentiment slightly different from bhakti which is active faith or devotion. The northerners hold that the soul lays hold of the Lord, as the young monkey hangs on to its mother, whereas the southerners say that the Lord picks up the helpless and passive soul as a cat picks up a kitten¹. According to the northerners, the consort of Vishnu is, like him, uncreated and equally to be worshipped as a bestower of grace; according to the southerners she is created and, though divine, merely a mediator or channel of the Lord's grace. Even more important in popular esteem is the fact that the Vadagalai sectarian mark ends between the eyebrows whereas the Tengalais prolong it to the tip of the nose. *Odium theologicum* is often bitterest between the sects which are most nearly related and accordingly we find that the Tengalais and Vadagalais frequently quarrel. They use the same temples but in many places both claim the exclusive right to recite the hymns of the Âṭvârs. The chief difference in their recitation lies in the opening verse in which each party celebrates the names of its special teachers, and disputes as to the legality of a particular verse in a particular shrine sometimes give rise to free fights and subsequent lawsuits.

The two schools reckon the apostolic succession differently and appear to have separated in the thirteenth century, in which they were represented by Pillai Lokâcârya and Vedânta Desika² respectively. The Tengalai, of which the first-named teacher

¹ Hence the two doctrines are called markata nyâya and marjâra nyâya, monkey theory and cat theory. The latter gave rise to the dangerous doctrine of Doshabhogya, that God enjoys sin, since it gives a larger scope for the display of His grace. Cf. Oscar Wilde in *De Profundis*, "Christ, through some divine instinct in him, seems 'to have always loved the sinner as being the nearest possible approach to perfection in man. In a manner not yet understood of the world, he regarded sin 'and suffering as being in themselves beautiful holy things and modes of perfection. Christ, had he been asked, would have said—I feel quite certain about 'it—that the moment the prodigal son fell on his knees and wept, he made his 'having wasted his substance with harlots, his swine herding and hungering for 'the husks they ate beautiful and holy moments in his life'."

² Also called Veṅkatanâtha. For some rather elaborate studies in the history of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas see V. Rangachari's articles in *J. Bombay R. A. S.* 1915 and 1916 and *J. Mythic Society*, 1917, Nos. 2 ff.

was the practical founder, must be regarded as innovators for in their use of Tamil as the language of religion they do not follow the example of Rāmānuja. Lokācārya teaches that the grace of God is irresistible and should be met not merely by active faith but by self-surrender¹ and entire submission to the guidance of the spiritual teacher. He was the author of eighteen works called *Rahasyas* or secrets² but though he appears to have been the first to formulate the Tengalai doctrines. Manavala Mahāmuni (1370-1443 A.D.) is regarded by the sect as its chief saint. His images and pictures are frequent in south India and he wrote numerous commentaries and poems. Vedānta Dōika the founder of the Vadagalai was a native of Conjeevaram but spent much of his life at Śrīrangam. He was a voluminous author and composed *inter alia* an allegorical play in ten acts portraying the liberation of the soul under the auspices of King Viveka (discrimination) and Queen Sumati (Wisdom).

At the present day the two sects recognize as their respective heads two Ācāryas who are married whereas all Smārta Ācāryas are celibates³. The Tengalai Ācārya resides near Tinnevely the Vadagalai in the district of Kurnool. They both make periodical visitations in their districts and have considerable ecclesiastical power. In the south Śrīrangam near Trichinopoly is their principal shrine in the north Melncote in the Seringapatam district is esteemed very sacred.

5

It was only natural that Rāmānuja's advocacy of qualified non-duality should lead some more uncompromising spirit to affirm the doctrine of Dvaita or duality. This step was taken by Madhva Ācārya a Kanarese Brahman who was probably born in 1199 A.D.⁴ In the previous year the great temple of

¹ *Prapatti* and *Ācāryabhīmāna*.—The word *prapatti* does not occur in the Śrī Bhāṣya and it is clear that Rāmānuja's temperament was inclined to active and intelligent devotion. But *prapatti* is said to have been taught by Nth muni and Rādhagopa (Bhāgopala Chariar *Vaiśṇava Reformer*, p. 8). The word means literally *approaching*.

² The *Artha paścaka* and *Tattva-traya* are the best known. See text and translation of the first in *J.R.A.S.* 1910 pp. 585-607.

³ Rāmānuja set less store than Śaṅkara on asceticism and renunciation of the world. He held the doctrine called *amśucchaya* (or combination) namely that good works as well as knowledge are efficacious for salvation.

Also called *Ānandatīrtha* and *Pūrṇaprajña*. According to others he was born in 1238 A.D. See for his doctrines Grierson's article *Madhva* in *E.R.E.* and his own

Jagannatha at Puri had been completed and the Vishnuite movement was at its height Madhva though educated as a Śaiva became a Vaiṣṇava He denied absolutely the identity of the Supreme Being with the individual soul and held that the world is not a modification of the Lord but that he is like a father who begets a son Yet in practice, rigid monotheism is not more prevalent among Madhva's followers than in other sects They are said to tolerate the worship of Śivaite deities and of the lingam in their temples¹ and their ascetics dress like Śaivas

Madhva travelled in both northern and southern India and had a somewhat troubled life, for his doctrine, being the flat contradiction of the Advaita, involved him in continual conflicts with the followers of Śāṅkara who are said to have even stolen his library At any rate they anathematized his teaching with a violence unusual in Indian theology² In spite of such lively controversy he found time to write thirty-seven works, including commentaries on the Upanishads, Bhagavad-gītā and Vedānta Sūtras The obvious meaning of these texts is not that required by his system, but they are recognized by all Vaiṣṇavas as the three Prasthānas or starting-points of philosophy and he had to show that they supported his views Hence his interpretation often seems forced and perverse The most extraordinary instance of this is his explanation of the celebrated phrase in

commentaries on the Chāndogya and Bṛihad Ar Upanishads published in *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, vols III and XIV For his date Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇ and Śaivism*, pp 58-59 and *I A* 1914, pp 233 ff and 262 ff Accounts of his life and teaching have been written by Padmanabha Char and Kṛishṇa Svamī Aiyer (Madras, 1909). His followers maintain that he is not dead but still alive at Badarī in the Himalayas

¹ See Padmanabha Char *l c* page 12 Madhva condemned the worship of inanimate objects (*e g* com Chānd Up vii 14 2) but not the worship of Brahman in inanimate objects

² In a work called the *Pāshanda capetiskā* or *A Slap for Heretics*, all the adherents of Madhva are consigned to hell and the Saurapurāṇa, chaps XXXVIII-XL contains a violent polemic against them See Jahn's *Analysis*, pp 90-106 and Barth in *Mélanges Harlez*, pp 12-25 It is curious that the Madhvas should have been selected for attack, for in many ways they are less opposed to Śivaite than are other Vishnuite sects but the author was clearly badly informed about the doctrines which he attacks and he was probably an old-fashioned Śivaite of the north who regarded Madhvaism as a new fangled version of objectionable doctrines

The Madhvas are equally violent in denouncing Śāṅkara and his followers They miswrite the name Sāṅkara, giving it the sense of mongrel or dirt and hold that he was an incarnation of a demon called Manimat sent by evil spirits to corrupt the world.

the Chândogya Upanishad *Sa Atmā tat tvam asi*. He reads *Sa Atmā atat tvam asi* and considers that it means 'You are not that God'. Why be so conceited as to suppose that you are? Monotheistic texts have often received a mystical and pantheistic interpretation. The Old Testament and the Koran have been so treated by Kabbalists and Sufis. But in Madhva's commentaries we see the opposite and probably rarer method. Pantheistic texts are twisted until they are made to express uncompromising monotheism.

The sect is often called *Brahma-sampradāya* because it claims that its doctrine was revealed by *Brahmā* from whom Madhva was the sixth teacher in spiritual descent. Its members are known as *Mādhvas* but prefer to call themselves *Sad Vaishnavas*. Its teaching seems more rigid and less emotional than that of other Vishnuites and is based on the *Pancabheda* or five eternal distinctions between (a) God and the soul (b) God and matter (c) the soul and matter (d) individual souls (e) individual atoms of matter. God is generally called *Vishṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa* rather than *Vāsudeva*. *Kṛṣṇa* is adored but not in his pastoral aspect. *Vishṇu* and his spouse *Lakṣmī* are real though superhuman personalities and their sons are *Brahmā* the creator and *Vāyu*¹. Peculiar to this sect is the doctrine that except through *Vāyu* the son of *Vishṇu* salvation is impossible. *Vāyu* has been three times incarnate as *Hanumat* the helper of *Rāma* as *Bhīma* and as Madhva himself². Souls are separate, innumerable and related to God as subjects to a king. They are of three classes: those who are destined to eternal bliss in the presence of God; those who revolve eternally in the maze of transmigration; and those who tending ever downwards are doomed to eternal suffering.

¹ See his comment on *Chând. Up.* vi. 8. 7. Compare *Bhag.-g.* xv. 7. The text appears to say that the soul (*Jīva*) is a part (*amaśa*) of the Lord. Madhva says it is so-called because it bears some reduced similitude to the Lord, though quite distinct from him. Madhva's exegesis is supported by a system of tantric or cabalistic interpretation in which every letter has a special meaning. Thus in the passage of the *Chând. Up.* mentioned above the simple words *sa ya sakeśa* are explained as equivalent to *Sāra* = *essence*, *yama* the controller and *ishṭa* the desired one. The reading *atat tvam asi* is said not to have originated with Madhva but to be found in a Bhāgavata work called the *Rām samhitā*.

In his commentary on the opening of the *Chând. Up.* Madhva seems to imply a Trinity consisting of *Vishṇu*, *Rāmā* (= *Lakṣmī*) and *Vāyu*.

² This is expressly stated at the end of the commentary on the *Bṛh. Ar. Upan.*

This last doctrine, as well as the doctrine of salvation through Vâyu, the wind or spirit, has led many to suspect that Madhva was influenced by Christian ideas, but it is more probable that he owed something to Islam. Such influence would no doubt be distant and indirect, for a Brahman would not come into contact with Moslim doctors, though it is said that Madhva could speak Persian¹. But some Moslim ideas such as the absolute separation of God from the world and the predestination of souls to eternal happiness and misery may have entered Brahman minds. Still, nearly all Madhva's views (with the possible exception of eternal punishment) have Indian analogies. The Yoga teaches that there are innumerable souls distinct from one another and from God and though salvation through the spirit sounds Christian, yet the Upanishads constantly celebrate Vâyu (wind) and Prâna (breath) as the pervading principle of the world and the home of the self. "By the wind (Vâyu) as thread, O Gautama, this world and the other world and all creatures are bound together²". Thus the idea that the wind is the universal mediator is old and it does not seem that Madhva regarded Vâyu as a redeemer or expiation for sin like Christ.

The Mâdhvas are still an energetic and important sect. Their headquarters are at Udipi in South Kanara and they also hold an annual conference at Tirupati at which examinations in theology are held and prizes given. At Udipi are eight maths and a very sacred temple, dedicated by Madhva himself to Kṛishna. The head of each math is charged in turn with the supervision of this temple during two years and the change of office is celebrated by a great biennial festival in January. The worship is more puntanical than in the temples of other sects, dancing girls for instance not being allowed, but great importance is attached to the practice of branding the body with the emblems of Vishnu. The sect, like the Śrī Vaishnavas, is divided

¹ *Life and teachings of Śrī Madhvacharyar* by Padmanabha Char 1909, p. 159. Some have suspected a connection between Madhva's teaching and Manicheism, because he attached much importance to an obscure demon called Manimat (see Mahâbh. III 11,861) whom he considered incarnate in Śankara. It is conceivable that in his Persian studies he may have heard of Mani as an arch heretic and have identified him with this demon but this does not imply any connection between his own system (or Śankara's either) and Manicheism.

² Brih. Ar. Upan. III 7.2

into two parties the Vyasakutas who are conservative and use Sanskrit scriptures¹, and the Dasakutas who have more popular tendencies and use sacred books written in Kanarese. Neither the Śrī Vaishṇavas nor the Mādhvas are numerous in northern India.

¹ Among them are the *Manimanjari*, the *Madhvarājya* and the *Vāyastoti*, all attributed to a disciple of Mādhva and his son.

CHAPTER XXX

LATER VISHNUISM IN NORTH INDIA

I

WITH the fifteenth century Hinduism enters on a new phase. Sects arise which show the influence of Mohammedanism, sometimes to such an extent that it is hard to say whether they should be classed as Hindu or Moslim, and many teachers repudiate caste. Also, whereas in the previous centuries the centre of religious feeling lay in the south, it now shifts to the north. Hinduism had been buffeted but not seriously menaced there: the teachers of the south had not failed to recognize by their pilgrimages the sanctity and authority of the northern seats of learning: such works as the *Gîtâ-govinda* testify to the existence there of fervent Vishnuism. But the country had been harassed by Moslim invasions and unsettled by the vicissitudes of transitory dynasties. The Jains were powerful in Gujarat and Rajputâna. In Bengal Śâktism and moribund Buddhism were not likely to engender new enthusiasms. But in a few centuries the movements inaugurated in the south increased in extension and strength. Hindus and Mohammedans began to know more of each other, and in the sixteenth century under the tolerant rule of Akbar and his successors the new sects which had been growing were able to consolidate themselves.

After Râmânûja and Madhva, the next great name in the history of Vishnuism, and indeed of Hinduism, is Râmânand. His date is uncertain¹. He was posterior to Râmânûja, from whose sect he detached himself, and Kabir was his disciple,

¹ See Bhandarkar, *Vaishn and Śaivism*, pp. 66 ff., Grierson in *Ind. Ant.* 1893, p. 226, and also in article Ramanandi in *ERE*, Farquhar, *J. R. A. S.* 1920, pp. 185 ff. Though Indian tradition seems to be unanimous in giving 1299 A. D. (4400 Kal) as the date of Râmânand's birth, all that we know about himself and his disciples makes it more probable that he was born nearly a century later. The history of ideas, too, becomes clear and intelligible if we suppose that Râmânand, Kabir and Nanak flourished about 1400, 1450 and 1500 respectively. One should be cautious in allowing such arguments to outweigh unanimous tradition, but tradition also assigns to Râmânand an improbably long life, thus indicating a feeling that he influenced the fifteenth century. Also the traditions as to the number of teachers between Râmânûja and Râmânand differ greatly.

apparently his immediate disciple. Some traditions give Prayaga as his birthplace others Melucote, but the north was the scene of his activity. He went on a lengthy pilgrimage and on his return was accused of having infringed the rules of his sect as to eating etc. and was excommunicated but received permission from his Guru to found a new sect. He then settled in Benares and taught there. He wrote no treatise but various hymns ascribed to him are still popular.¹ Though he is not associated with any special dogma yet his teaching is of great importance as marking the origin of a popular religious movement characterized by the use of the vernacular languages instead of Sanskrit, and by a laxity in caste rules culminating in a readiness to admit as equals all worshippers of the true God.² This God is Rāma rather than Kṛishṇa. I have already pointed out that the worship of Rāma as the Supreme Being (to be distinguished from respect for him as a hero) is not early in fact it appears to begin in the period which we are considering. Of the human forms of the deity Kṛishṇa was clearly the most popular but the school of Rāmānuja while admitting both Rāma and Kṛishṇa as incarnations preferred to adore God under less mythological and more philosophic names such as Nārāyaṇa. Rāmānand who addressed himself to all classes and not merely to the Brahman aristocracy selected as the divine name Rāma. It was more human than Nārāyaṇa less sensuous than Kṛishṇa. Every Hindu was familiar with the poetry which sings of Rāma as a chivalrous and godlike hero. But he was not, like Kṛishṇa the lover of the soul and when Rāmāism was divested of mythology by successive reformers it became a monotheism in which Hindu and Moslem elements could blend. Rāmānand had twelve disciples among whom were Kabir a Raja called Pipā Rai Das a leather seller (and therefore an outcast according to Hindu ideas) as well as Brahmans. The Rāmats as his followers were called are a numerous and respectable body in north India, using the same sectarian mark as the Vadagalais from whom they do not differ materially although a Hindu might consider that their small regard for caste is a vital distinction. They often call themselves Avadhūtas that is those who have shaken off worldly restrictions, and the more devout among them belong

¹ One of them is found in the Granth of the Sikhs.

² Rāmānand's maxim was "Jāti pīṭi parhai nahīn; Hari-ku bhaj" i.e. Hari has no caste. Let no one ask a man's caste or sect. Whoever adores God, he is God's own.

to an order divided into four classes of which only the highest is reserved to Brahmans and the others are open to all castes. They own numerous and wealthy maths, but it is said that in some of these celibacy is not required and that monks and nuns live openly as man and wife¹

An important aspect of the Râmât movement is its effect on the popular literature of Hindustan which in the fifteenth and even more in the sixteenth century blossoms into flowers of religious poetry. Many of these writings possess real merit and are still a moral and spiritual force. European scholars are only beginning to pay sufficient attention to this mighty flood of hymns which gushed forth in nearly all the vernaculars of India² and appealed directly to the people. The phenomenon was not really new. The psalms of the Buddhists and even the hymns of the Rig Veda were vernacular literature in their day, and in the south the songs of the Devaram and Nâlâyiram are of some antiquity. But in the north, though some Prâkrit literature has been preserved, Sanskrit was long considered the only proper language for religion. We can hardly doubt that vernacular hymns existed, but they did not receive the imprimatur of any teacher, and have not survived. But about 1400 all this changes. Though Râmânand was not much of a writer he gave his authority to the use of the vernacular. He did not, like Râmânuja, either employ or enjoin Sanskrit and the meagre details which we have of his circle lead us to imagine him surrounded by men of homely speech.

One current in this sea of poetry was Krishnaite and as such not directly connected with Râmânand. Vidyâpati³ sang of the loves of Krishna and Râdhâ in the Maithilî dialect and also in a form of Bengali. In the early fifteenth century (c. 1420) we have the poetess Mirâ Bai, wife of the Raja of Chitore who gained celebrity and domestic unhappiness by her passionate

¹ Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 445

² Thus we have the poems of Kabîr, Nânak and others contained in the Granth of the Sikhs and tending to Mohammedanism. The hymns wherein Mirâ Bai, Vallabha and his disciples praised Krishna in Râjputâna and Braj. The poets inspired by Caitanya in Bengal. Śaṅkar Deb and Madhab Deb in Assam. Namdev and Tukârâm in the Maratha country.

³ See Beames, *J A* 1873, pp. 37 ff., and Grierson, *Maithilî Christomathy*, pp. 34 ff., in extra No. to *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Part 1 for 1882 and Coomaraswamy's illustrated translation of Vidyâpati, 1915. It is said that a land grant proves he was a celebrated Pandit in 1400. The Bengali Vaishnava poet Chandi Dâs was his contemporary.

devotion to the form of Kṛishṇa known as Rānchor. According to one legend the image came to life in answer to her fervent prayers and throwing his arms round her allowed her to meet a rapturous death in his embrace. This is precisely the sentiment which we find later in the teaching of Vallabhācārya and Caitanya. The hymns of the Bengali poets have been collected in the *Padakalpitaru*, one of the chief sacred books of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas. From Vallabhācārya spring the group of poets who adorned Braj or the Muttra district. Pre-eminent among them is the blind Sur Das who flourished about 1550 and wrote such sweet lyrics that Kṛishṇa himself came down and acted as his amanuensis. A somewhat later member of the same group is Nabhā Das the author of the *Bhakta Mālā* or Legends of the Saints, which is still one of the most popular religious works of northern India¹. Almost contemporary with Sur Das was the great Tulsi Das and Grierson² enumerates thirteen subsequent writers who composed Rāmāyana in some dialect of Hindi. A little later came the Mahratta poet Tukarām (born about 1600) who gave utterance to Krishnism in another language.

Tulsi Das is too important to be merely mentioned as one in a list of poets. He is a great figure in Indian religion and the saying that his Rāmāyana is more popular and more honoured in the North western Provinces than the Bible in England is no exaggeration³. He came into the world in 1532 but was exposed by his parents as born under an unlucky star and was adopted by a wandering Sādhu. He married but his son died and after this loss he himself became a Sādhu. He began to write his Rāmāyana in Oudh at the age of forty three but moved to Benares where he completed it and died in 1623. On the Tulsi Ghat near the river Asi may still be seen the rooms which he occupied. They are at the top of a lofty building and command a beautiful view over the river⁴.

¹ See Grierson, *Gleanings from the Bhakti mālā* J. R. A. S. 1909 and 1910.

² *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, 1889, p. 57.

³ Similarly Dinanāth Chandra Sen (*Long and Lil. of Bengal*, p. 170) says that Kṛittivāsa's translation of the Rāmāyana "is the Bible of the people of the Gangetic Valley and it is for the most part the peasants who read it." Kṛittivāsa was born in 1346 and roughly contemporary with Rāmānand. Thus the popular interest in Rāma was widespread in different provinces at the same time.

He also wrote several other poems, among which may be mentioned the *Gitāvallī* and *Kavittāvallī*, dedicated respectively to the infancy and the heroic deeds of Rām and the *Vinaya Patrikā* or petition, a volume of hymns and prayers.

HIS Râmâyana which is an original composition and not a translation of Vâlmîki's work is one of the great religious poems of the world and not unworthy to be set beside *Paradise Lost*. The sustained majesty of diction and exuberance of ornament are accompanied by a spontaneity and vigour rare in any literature, especially in Asia. The poet is not embellishing a laboured theme—he goes on and on because his emotion bursts forth again and again, diversifying the same topic with an inexhaustible variety of style and metaphor. As in some forest a stream flows among flowers and trees, but pours forth a flood of pure water uncoloured by the plants on its bank, so in the heart of Tulsi Das the love of God welled up in a mighty fountain ornamented by the mythology and legends with which he bedecked it, yet unaffected by them. He founded no sect, which is one reason of his popularity, for nearly all sects can read him with edification, and he is primarily a poet not a theologian. But though he allows himself a poet's licence to state great truths in various ways, he still enunciates a definite belief. This is theism, connected with the name Râma. Since in the north he is the author most esteemed by the Vishnuites, it would be a paradox to refuse him that designation, but his teaching is not so much that Vishnu is the Supreme Being who becomes incarnate in Râma, as that Râma, and more rarely Hari and Vâsudeva, are names of the All-God who manifests himself in human form. Vishnu is mentioned as a celestial being in the company of Brahmâ¹, and so far as any god other than Râma receives attention it is Śiva, not indeed as Râma's equal, but as a being at once very powerful and very devout, who acts as a mediator or guide. "Without prayer to Śiva no one can attain to the faith which I require"². "Râma is God, the totality of good, imperishable, invisible, uncreated, incomparable, void of all change, indivisible, whom the Veda declares that it cannot define"³. And yet, "He whom scripture and philosophy have sung and whom the saints love to contemplate, even the Lord God, he is the son of Dasarath, King of Kosala"⁴. By the power of Râma exist Brahmâ, Vishnu and Śiva, as also Mâyâ, the illusion which brings about the world. His "delusive power is

¹ See Growse's *Translation*, vol. I. pp. 60, 62

² *Ib* vol. III p. 190, of vol. I. p. 88 and vol. III pp. 66-67

³ *Ib* vol. II. p. 54

⁴ *Ib* vol. I. p. 77

a vast fig tree its clustering fruit the countless multitude of worlds while all things animate and inanimate are like the insects that dwell inside and think their own particular fig the only one in existence¹ God has made all things pain and pleasure sin and merit saints and sinners Brahmans and hutchers passion and asceticism It is the Veda that distinguishes good and evil among them² The love of God and faith are the only road to happiness The worship of Hari is real and all the world is a dream³ Tulsi Das often uses the language of the Advaita philosophy and even calls God the annihilator of duality but though he admits the possibility of absorption and identification with the deity he holds that the double relation of a loving God and a loving soul constitutes greater bliss The saint was not absorbed into the divinity for this reason that he had already received the gift of faith⁴ And in a similar spirit he says Let those preach in their wisdom who contemplate Thee as the supreme spirit the uncreate inseparable from the universe recognizable only by inference and beyond the understanding but we O Lord will ever hymn the glories of thy incarnation Like most Hindus he is little disposed to enquire what is the purpose of creation but he comes very near to saying that God has evolved the world by the power of *Mâyâ* because the bliss which God and his beloved feel is greater than the bliss of impersonal undifferentiated divinity It will be seen that Tulsi Das is thoroughly Hindu neither his fundamental ideas nor his mythological embellishments owe anything to Islam or Christianity He accepts unreservedly such principles as *Mâyâ* transmigration Karma and release But his sentiments more than those of any other Indian writer bear a striking resemblance to the New Testament Though he holds that the whole world is of God he none the less bids men shun evil and choose the good and the singular purity of his thoughts and style contrasts strongly with other Vishnuite works He does not conceive of the love which may exist between the soul and God as a form of sexual passion

¹ Growse *l.c.* vol. II. p. 200 cf. p. 204 *Mâyâ* who sets the whole world dancing and whose actions no one can understand is herself set dancing with all her troupe, like an actress on the stage, by the play of the Lord's eyebrows. Cf. too, for the infinity of worlds, pp. 210 211

Growse aptly compares St. Paul, "I had not known evil but by the law"
Id. vol. II. p. 223.

² *Id.* vol. II. p. 196.

2

The beginning of the sixteenth century was a time of religious upheaval in India for it witnessed the careers not only of Vallabhâcârya and Caitanya, but also of Nânak, the founder of the Sikhs. In the west it was the epoch of Luther and as in Europe so in India no great religious movement has taken place since that time. The sects then founded have swollen into extravagance and been reformed; other sects have arisen from a mixture of Hinduism with Moslem and Christian elements, but no new and original current of thought or devotion has been started.

Though the two great sects associated with the names of Caitanya and Vallabhâcârya have different geographical spheres and also present some differences in doctrinal details, both are emotional and even erotic and both adore Krishna as a child or young man. Their almost simultaneous appearance in eastern and western India and their rapid growth show that they represent an unusually potent current of ideas and sentiments. But the worship of Krishna was, as we have seen, nothing new in northern India. Even that relatively late phase in which the sports of the divine herdsman are made to typify the love of God for human souls is at least as early as the *Gîtâ-govinda* written about 1170. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the history of Krishna worship is not clear¹, but it persisted and about 1400 found speech in Bengal and in Rajputâna.

According to Vaishnava theologians the followers of Vallabhâcârya² are a section of the Rudra-sampradâya founded in the early part of the fifteenth century by Vishnusvâmi, an emigrant from southern India, who preached chiefly in Gujarat. The doctrines of the sect are supposed to have been delivered by the Almighty to Śiva from whom Vishnusvâmi was fifteenth in spiritual descent, and are known by the name of *Śuddhâdvaita* or pure non-duality. They teach that God has three attributes *sac-cid-ânanda*—existence, consciousness and bliss. In the human

¹ The Vishnuite sect called Nimbavat is said to have been exterminated by Jains (Grierson in *E R E* sub v *Bhakti mârگا*, p. 545). This may point to persecution during this period.

² For Vallabhâcârya and his sect, see especially Growse, *Mathurâ a district memoir*, 1874, *History of the sect of the Mahârâjas in western India* (anonymous), 1865. Also Bhandarkar, *Vaishn and Saivism*, pp. 76–82 and Farquhar, *Outlines of Relig Lit of India*, pp. 312–317.

or animal soul bliss is suppressed and in matter consciousness is suppressed too. But when the soul attains release it recovers bliss and becomes identical in nature with God. For practical purposes the Vallabhâcâris may be regarded as a sect founded by Vallabha said to have been born in 1470. He was the son of a Telinga Brahman who had migrated with Vishnuvâmi to the north.

Such was the pious precocity of Vallabha that at the age of twelve he had already discovered a new religion and started on a pilgrimage to preach it. He was well received at the Court of Vijayanagar and was so successful in disputation that he was recognized as chief doctor of the Vaishnava school. He subsequently spent nine years in travelling twice round India and at Brindaban received a visit from Kṛṣṇa in person who had him promulgate his worship in the form of the divine child known as Bâla Gopâla. Vallabha settled in Benares and is said to have composed a number of works which are still extant¹. He gained further victories as a successful disputant and also married and became the father of two sons. At the age of fifty-two he took to the life of a Sannyâsi but died forty-two days afterwards.

Though Vallabha died as an ascetic his doctrines are currently known as the *Pushṭi Mârḡa* the road of well being or comfort. His philosophy was more decidedly monistic than is usual among Vishnuites and Indian monism has generally taught that as the soul and God are one in essence the soul should realize this identity and renounce the pleasures of the senses. But with Vallabhâcârya it may be said that the vision which is generally directed godwards and forgets the flesh turned earthwards and forgot God for his teaching is that since the individual and the deity are one the body should be revered and indulged. *Pushṭi*² or well being is the special grace of God and the elect are called *Pushṭi jîva*. They depend entirely on God's grace and are contrasted with *Mâyâdâ jîvas* or those who submit to moral discipline. The highest felicity is

The principal of them are the *Siddhânta Rahasya* and the *Bhâgavata Tîka* Subodhini, a commentary on the *Bhâgavata Purâna*. This is a short poem of only seventeen lines printed in Growse's *Malabar*, p. 155. It professes to be a revelation from the deity to the effect that sin can be done away with by union with Brahma (*Brahma-sambandha karanât*). Other authoritative works of the sect are the *Siddhântavâda mântara*, *Râk Itihâsa*, *sangraha* and *Prameyasa' ârpa*, all edited in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series.

¹ Cf. the use of the word *poshapam* in the *Bhâgavata Purâna* II. x.

not *mukti* or liberation but the eternal service of Krishna and eternal participation in his sports

These doctrines have led to deplorable results, but so strong is the Indian instinct towards self-denial and asceticism that it is the priests rather than the worshippers who profit by this permission to indulge the body, and the chief feature of the sect is the extravagant respect paid to the descendants of Vallabhâcârya. They are known as Maharajas or Great Kings and their followers, especially women, dedicate to them *tan*, *dhan*, *man* body, purse and spirit, for it is a condition of the road of well-being that before the devotee enjoys anything himself he must dedicate it to the deity and the Maharaj represents the deity. The daily prayer of the sect is "Om Krishna is my refuge. I who suffer the infinite pain and torment of enduring for a thousand years separation from Krishna, consecrate to Krishna my body, senses, life, heart and faculties, my wife, house, family, property and my own self. I am thy slave, O Krishna¹." This formula is recited to the Maharaj with peculiar solemnity by each male as he comes of age and is admitted as a full member of the sect. The words in which this dedication of self and family is made are not in themselves open to criticism and a parallel may be found in Christian hymns. But the literature of the Vallabhis unequivocally states that the Guru is the same as the deity² and there can be little doubt that even now the Maharajas are adored by their followers, especially by the women, as representatives of Krishna in his character of the lover of the Gopis and that the worship is often licentious³. Many Hindus denounce the sect and in 1862 one of the Maharajas brought an action for libel in the supreme court of Bombay on

¹ Growse, *Mathurâ*, p. 157, says this formula is based on the Nârâdapançarâtra. It is called Samarpana, dedication, or Brahma-sambandha, connecting oneself with the Supreme Being.

² For instance "Whoever holds his Guru and Krishna to be distinct and different shall be born again as a bird," Harirayaji 32. Quoted in *History of the Sect of the Mahârâjas*, p. 82.

³ In the ordinary ceremonial the Maharaj stands beside the image of Krishna and acknowledges the worship offered. Sometimes he is swung in a swing with or without the image. The hymns sung on these occasions are frequently immoral. Even more licentious are the meetings or dances known as Ras Mandali and Ras Lila. A meal of hot food seasoned with aphrodisiacs is also said to be provided in the temples. The water in which the Maharaj's linen or feet have been washed is sold for a high price and actually drunk by devotees.

account of the serious charges of immorality brought against him in the native press. The trial became a *cause célèbre*. Judgment was delivered against the Maharnj, the Judge declaring the charges to be fully substantiated. Yet in spite of these proceedings the sect still flourishes apparently unchanged in doctrine and practice and has a large following among the mercantile castes of western India. The Râdhâ Vallabhis, an analogous sect founded by Harivamsa in the sixteenth century give the pre-eminence to Râdhâ, the wife of Kṛishna, and in their secret ceremonies are said to dress as women. The worship of Râdhâ is a late phase of Vishnuism and is not known even to the Bhâgavata Purâṇa¹.

Vallabhimism owes much of its success to the family of the founder. They had evidently a strong dynastic sentiment as well as a love of missionary conquest—a powerful combination. Vallabhâcârya left behind him eighty-four principal disciples whose lives are recorded in the work called the *Stories of the Eighty-four Vaishnavas* and his authority descended to his son Vithalnath. Like his father Vithalnath was active as a proselytizer and pilgrim and propagated his doctrines extensively in many parts of western India such as Cutch, Malwa and Bijapur. His converts came chiefly from the mercantile classes but also included some Brahmans and Mussulmans. He is said to have abolished caste distinctions but the sect has not preserved this feature. In his later years he resided at Muttra or the neighbouring town of Gokul whence he is known as Gokul Gosainji. This title of Gosain which is still borne by his male descendants is derived from Kṛishna's name Gosvâmin, the lord of cattle². He had seven sons, in each of whom Kṛishna is said to have been incarnate for five years. They exercised spiritual authority in separate districts—as we might say in different dioceses—but the fourth son Gokulnathji and his descendants claimed and still claim a special pre-eminence. The family is at present represented by about a hundred males who are accepted as

¹ Strictly speaking the Râdhâ Vallabhis are not an offshoot of Vallabha's school but of the Nimbavata or of the Mâdhva-sampradâya. The theory underlying their strange practices seems to be that Kṛishna is the only male and that all mankind should cultivate sentiments of female love for him. See Macnool, *Indian Theism*, p. 134.

² But other explanations are current such as Lord of the senses or Lord of the Vedas.

incarnations and receive the title of Maharaja. About twenty reside at Gokul¹ or near Muttra; there are a few in Bombay and in all the great cities of western India, but the Maharaj of Nath Dwara in Rajputâna is esteemed the chief. This place is not an ancient seat of Krishna worship, but during the persecution of Aurungzeb a peculiarly holy image was brought thither from Muttra and placed in the shrine where it still remains.

A protest against the immorality of the Vallabhî sect was made by Swâminârâyana, a Brahman who was born in the district of Lucknow about 1780². He settled in Ahmedabad and gained so large a following that the authorities became alarmed and imprisoned him. But his popularity only increased; he became the centre of a great religious movement; hymns descriptive of his virtues and sufferings were sung by his followers and when he was released he found himself at the head of a band which was almost an army. He erected a temple in the village of Wartal in Baroda, which he made the centre of his sect, and recruited followers by means of periodical tours throughout Gujarat. His doctrines are embodied in an anthology called the *Śikshâpatrî* consisting of 212 precepts, some borrowed from accepted Hindu scriptures and some original and in a catechism called *Vacanâmritam*. His teaching was summed up in the phrase "Devotion to Krishna with observance of duty and purity of life" and in practice took the form of a laudable polemic against the licentiousness of the Vallabhîs. As in most of the purer sects of Vishnuism, Krishna is regarded merely as a name of the Supreme Deity. Thus the *Śikshâpatrî* says "Nârâyana and Śiva should be equally recognized as parts of one and the same supreme spirit, since both have been declared in the Vedas to be forms of Brahma. On no account let it be thought that difference in form or name makes any difference in the identity of the deity." The followers of Swâminârâyana still number about 200,000 in western India and are divided into the laity and a body of celibate clergy. I have visited their religious establishments in Ahmedabad. It consists of a temple with a large and well-kept monastery in which are housed about 300 monks who wear costumes of reddish grey. Except in Assam I have not seen in India any parallel to this monastery.

¹ See Growse, *Mathurâ*, p. 153. I can entirely confirm what he says. This mean, inartistic, dirty place certainly suggests moral depravity.

² His real name was Sahajânanda.

either in size or discipline. It is provided with a library and hospital. In the temple are images of Nara and Nārāyaṇa (explained as Kṛishṇa and Arjuna), Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, Gaṇeśa and Hanuman.¹

3

The sect founded by Caitanya is connected with eastern India as the Vallabhis are with the west. Bengal is perhaps the native land of the worship of Kṛishṇa as the god of love. It was there that Jayadeva flourished in the last days of the Sena dynasty and the lyrical poet Chandidās at the end of the fourteenth century. About the same time the still greater poet Vidyapati was singing in Durbhanga. For these writers as for Caitanya, religion is the bond of love which unites the soul and God as typified by the passion² that drew together Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. The idea that God loves and seeks out human souls is familiar to Christianity and receives very emotional expression in well known hymns but the bold humanity of these Indian lyrics seems to Europeans unsuitable. I will let a distinguished Indian apologize for it in his own words.

The paradox that has to be understood is that Kṛishṇa means God. Yet he is represented as a youth standing at a gate trying to waylay the beloved maiden attempting to entrap the soul as it were, into a clandestine meeting. This which is so inconceivable to a purely modern mind presents no difficulty at all to the Vaiṣṇava devotee. To him God is the lover himself, the sweet flowers, the fresh grass, the gay sound heard in the woods are direct messages and tokens of love to his soul bringing to his mind at every instant that loving God whom he pictures as ever anxious to win the human heart.³

Caitanya⁴ was born at Nadia in 1485 and came under the influence of the Mādhva sect. In youth he was a prodigy of

¹ Caran Das (1703-1787) founded a somewhat similar sect which professed to abolish idolatry and laid great stress on ethics. See Grierson's article Caran Das in *E.R.E.*

But Viṣṇuīte writers distil guṇa, kāmā, desire and prema love, just as *eros* and *sympathy* are distinguished in Greek. See Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Loc. cit.* p. 485.

² Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 134-5.

³ For Caitanya see Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Lit.* chap. v and Jarl. ⁴ Sarkar *Caitanya's Pilgrimages and teachings from the Caitanya-Caritamāmṛta* of Kṛishṇa Das (1590) founded on the earlier Caitanya-Carita of Brindavan. Several of Caitanya's followers were also voluminous writers.

learning¹, but at the age of about seventeen while on a pilgrimage to Gaya began to display that emotional and even hysterical religious feeling which marked all his teaching. He swooned at the mention of Krishna's name and passed his time in dancing and singing hymns. At twenty-five he became a Sannyâsi, and at the request of his mother, who did not wish him to wander too far, settled in Puri near the temple of Jagannath. Here he spent the rest of his life in preaching, worship and ecstatic meditation, but found time to make a tour in southern India and another to Brindaban and Benares. He appears to have left the management of his sect largely to his disciples, Advaita, Nityânanda and Haridas, and to have written nothing himself. But he evidently possessed a gift of religious magnetism and exercised an extraordinary influence on those who heard him preach or sing. He died or disappeared before the age of fifty but apparently none of the stories about his end merit credence.

Although the teaching of Caitanya is not so objectionable morally as the doctrines of the Vallabhis, it follows the same line of making religion easy and emotional and it is not difficult to understand how his preaching, set forth with the eloquence which he possessed, won converts from the lower classes by thousands. He laid no stress on asceticism, approved of marriage and rejected all difficult rites and ceremonies. The form of worship which he specially enjoined was the singing of Kîrtans or hymns consisting chiefly in a repetition of the divine names accompanied by music and dancing. Swaying the body and repetition of the same formula or hymn are features of emotional religion found in the most diverse regions, for instance among the Rufais or Howling Deivishes, at Welsh revival meetings and in negro churches in the Southern States. It is therefore unnecessary to seek any special explanation in India but perhaps there is some connection between the religious ecstasies of Vaishnavas and Deivishes. Within Caitanya's sect, caste was not observed. He is said to have admitted many Moslems to membership and to have regarded all worshippers of Krishna as equal. Though caste has grown up again, yet the old regulation is still in force inside the temple of Jagannath at Puri. Within the sacred enclosure all are treated as of one caste and eat the

¹ He married the daughter of a certain Vallabha who apparently was not the founder of the Sect, as is often stated.

same sacred food. In Caitanya's words the mercy of God regards neither tribe nor family.

His theology¹ shows little originality. The deity is called Bhagavān or more frequently Hari. His majesty and omnipotence are personified as Nārāyaṇa, his beauty and ecstasy as Kṛṣṇa. The material world is defined as *bhēdābhēdaprakāśa* a manifestation of the deity as separate and yet not separate from him, and the soul is *vibhinnāśā* or a detached portion of him. Some souls are in bondage to Prakṛti or Māyā, others through faith and love attain deliverance. Reason is useless in religious matters but *ruci* or spiritual feeling has a quick intuition of the divine.

Salvation is obtained by Bhakti, faith or devotion which embraces and supersedes all other duties. This devotion means absolute self-surrender to the deity and love for him which asks for no return but is its own reward. He who expects remuneration for his love acts as a trader. In this devotion there are five degrees: (a) *sānti* calm meditation, (b) *dāśya* servitude, (c) *sākhyā* friendship, (d) *vātsalya* love like that of a child for its parent, (e) *mādhurya* love like that of a woman for a lover. All these sentiments are found in God and this combined ecstasy is an eternal principle identified with Hari himself just as in the language of the Gospels God is love. Though Caitanya makes love the crown and culmination of religion, the worship of his followers is not licentious and it is held that the right frame of mind is best attained by the recitation of Kṛṣṇa's names especially Hari.

The earlier centre of Caitanya's sect was his birthplace Nadia, but both during his life and afterwards his disciples frequented Brindaban and sought out the old sacred sites which were at that time neglected. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Tala Baba, a wealthy Bengali merchant, became a mendicant and visited Muttra. Though he had renounced the world, he still retained his business instincts and bought up the villages which contained the most celebrated shrines and were most frequented by pilgrims. The result was a most profitable

The theology of the sect may be studied in Baladeva's commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras and his *Prameya Ratnāvalī*, both contained in vol. v of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus*. It would appear that the sect regards itself as a continuation of the Brahmo-*pradāya* but its tenets have more resemblance to those of Vallabha.

speculation and the establishment of Caitanya's Church in the district of Braj, which thus became the holy land of both the great Krishnaites. The followers of Caitanya at the present day are said to be divided into Gosains, or ecclesiastics, who are the descendants of the founder's original disciples, the Vrikats or celibates, and the laity. Besides the celibates there are several semi-monastic orders who adopt the dress of monks but marry. They have numerous maths at Nadia and elsewhere. Like the Vallabhis, this sect deifies its leaders. Caitanya, Nityânanda and Advaita are called the three masters (Prabhû) and believed to be a joint incarnation of Krishna, though according to some only the first two shared the divine essence. Six of Caitanya's disciples known as the six Gosains are also greatly venerated and even ordinary religious teachers still receive an almost idolatrous respect.

Though Caitanya was not a writer himself he exercised a great influence on the literature of Bengal. In the opinion of so competent a judge as Dinesh Chandra Sen, Bengali was raised to the status of a literary language by the Vishnuite hymn-writers just as Pali was by the Buddhists. Such hymns were written before the time of Caitanya but after him they became extremely numerous¹ and their tone and style are said to change. The ecstasies and visions of which they tell are those described in his biographies and this emotional poetry has profoundly influenced all classes in Bengal. But there was and still is a considerable hostility between the Śâktas and Vishnuites.

4

A form of Vishnuism, possessing a special local flavour, is connected with the Maratha country and with the names of Nâmdev, Tukârâm² and Râmdâs, the spiritual preceptor of Śivaji. The centre of this worship is the town of Pandharpur and I have not found it described as a branch of any of the four Vishnuite Churches but the facts that Nâmdev wrote in Hindi as well as in Marathi, that many of his hymns are included in the Granth, and that his sentiments show affinities to the

¹ No less than 159 padakartâs or religious poets are enumerated by Dinesh Chandra Sen. Several collections of these poems have been published of which the principal is called *Padakalpataru*.

² See Bhandarkar, *Vaishn and Śaivism*, pp. 87-99, and Nicol, *Psalms of Maratha Saints* which gives a bibliography. For Nâmdev see also Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. vi pp. 17-76. For Ramdas see Rawlinson, *Sivaji the Maratha*, pp. 116 ff.

teaching of Nānak suggest that he belonged to the school of Rāmānand. There is however a difficulty about his date. Native tradition gives 1270 as the year of his birth but the language of his poems both in Marathi and Hindi is said to be too modern for this period and to indicate that he lived about 1400¹ when he might easily have felt the influence of Rāmānand, for he travelled in the north.

Most of his poetry however has for its centre the temple of Pandharpur where was worshipped a deity called Viṭṭhala Viṭṭoba or Pāṇḍurang. It is said that the first two names are dialectic variations of Vishnu but that Pāṇḍurang is an epithet of Śiva.² There is no doubt that the deity of Pandharpur has for many centuries been identified with Krishna who as in Bengal, is god the lover of the soul. But the hymns of the Marathas are less sensuous and Krishna is coupled not with his mistress Rādhā but with his wife Rukmīnī. In fact Rukmīnī pati or husband of Rukmīnī is one of his commonest titles. Nāmdev's opinions varied at different times and perhaps in different moods like most religious poets he cannot be judged by logic or theology. Sometimes he inveighs against idolatry—understood as an attempt to limit God to an image—but in other verses he sings the praises of Pāṇḍurang the local deity as the lord and creator of all. His great message is that God—by whatever name he is called—is everywhere and accessible to all accessible without ceremonial or philosophy. Vows, fasts and austerities are not needful nor need you go on pilgrimage. Be watchful in your heart and always sing the name of Hari. Yoga, sacrifices and renunciation are not needful. Love the feet of Hari. Neither need you contemplate the absolute. Hold fast to the love of Hari a name. Says Nāmā be steadfast in singing the name and then Hari will appear to you.³

¹ Bhandarkar *loc. cit.* p. 92. An earlier poet of this country was Jñānēśvara who wrote a paraphrase of the Bhagavad-gītā in 1290. His writings are said to be the first great landmark in Marathi literature.

² There is no necessary hostility between the worship of Śiva and of Vishnu. At Pandharpur pilgrims visit first a temple of Śiva and then the principal shrine. This latter like the temple of Jagannāth at Puri, is suspected of having been a Buddhist shrine. It is called Viṭṭhala, the principal festival is in the Buddhist Lent and caste is not observed within its precincts.

Quoted by Bhandarkar *loc. cit.* p. 90. The subsequent quotations are from the same source but I have sometimes slightly modified them and compared them with the original, though I have no pretension to be a Marathi scholar.

Tukârâm is better known than Nâmdev and his poetry which was part of the intellectual awakening that accompanied the rise of the Maratha power is still a living force wherever Marathi is spoken. He lived from 1607 to 1649 and was born in a family of merchants near Poona. But he was too generous to succeed in trade and a famine, in which one of his two wives died, brought him to poverty. Thenceforth he devoted himself to praying and preaching. He developed a great aptitude for composing rhyming songs in irregular metre¹, and like Caitanya he held services consisting of discourses interspersed with such songs, prepared or extempore. In spite of persecution by the Brahmans, these meetings became very popular and were even attended by the great Śivaji.

His creed is the same as that of Nâmdev and finds expression in verses such as these: "Thy nature is beyond the grasp of mind or words, and therefore I have made love a measure. I measure the Endless by the measure of love. He is not to be truly measured otherwise. Thou art not to be found by Yoga, sacrifice, fasting, bodily exertions or knowledge. O Keśava, accept the service which we render."

But if he had no use for asceticism he also feared the passions. "The Endless is beyond, between him and me are the lofty mountains of desire and anger. I cannot ascend them and find no pass." In poems which are apparently later, his tone is more peaceful. He speaks much of the death of self, of purity of heart, and of self-dedication to God. "Dedicate all you do to God and have done with it. Tukâ says, do not ask me again and again. Nothing else is to be taught but this."

Maratha critics have discussed whether Tukârâm followed the monistic philosophy of Śankara or not and it must be confessed that his utterances are contradictory. But the gist of the matter is that he disliked not so much monism as philosophy. Hence he says "For me there is no use in the Advaita. Sweet to me is the service of thy feet. The relation between God and his devotee is a source of high joy. Make me feel this, keeping me distinct from thee." But he can also say almost in the language of the Upanishads "When salt is dissolved in water, what remains distinct? I have thus become one in joy with thee and have lost myself in thee. When fire and camphor are

¹ Called Abhangs.

brought together, is there any black remnant? Tukā says thou and I were one light

5

There are interesting Vishnuites sects in Assam¹. Until the sixteenth century Hinduism was represented in those regions by Śāktism which was strong among the upper classes though the mass of the people still adhered to their old tribal worship. The first apostle of Vishnuism was Śāṅkar Deb in the sixteenth century. He preached first in the Ahom kingdom but was driven out by the opposition of Śāktist Brahmins and found a refuge at Barpeta. He appears to have inculcated the worship of Kṛṣṇa as the sole divine being and to have denounced idolatry, sacrifices and caste. These views were held even more strictly by his successor Madhab Deb a writer of repute whose works such as the *Nāṁghoṣha* and *Ratnāvallī* are regarded as scripture by his followers. Though the Brahmins of Assam were opposed to the introduction of Vishnuism and a section of them continued to instigate persecutions for two centuries or more yet when it became clear that the new teaching had a great popular following another section were anxious that it should not pass out of sacerdotal control and organized it as a legitimate branch of Hinduism. While fully recognizing the doctrine of justification by faith they also made provision for due respect to caste and Brahmanic authority.

According to the last census of India² the common view that Śāṅkar Deb drew his inspiration from Caitanya meets with criticism in Assam. His biographies say that he lived 120 years and died in 1500. It has been generally assumed that his age has been exaggerated but that the date of his death is correct. If it can be proved as contended that he was preaching in 1505 there would be no difficulty in admitting that he was independent of Caitanya and belonged to an earlier phase of the Vishnuites movement which produced the activity of Vallabha and the poetry of Vidyāpati. It is a further argument for this independence that he taught the worship of Vishnu only and not of Rādhā and discountenanced the use of images. On the other hand it is stated that he sojourned in Bengal and it

¹ See Elliot, *Hinduism in F. m. J.R.A.S.* 1910 pp. 1168-1186.

² *Census of India* 1911 Assam p. 41.

appears that soon after his death his connection with the teaching of Caitanya was recognized in Assam

At present there are three sects in Assam. Firstly, the Mahâpurushias, who follow more or less faithfully the doctrines of Śankar and Madhab. They admit Śûdras as religious teachers and abbots, and lay little stress on caste while not entirely rejecting it. They abstain almost entirely from the use of images in worship, the only exception being that a small figure of Krishna in the form of Vaikuntha Nâtha is found in their temples. It is not the principal object of veneration but stands to the left of a throne on which lies a copy of the Nâmghosha¹. This, together with the foot-prints of Śankar and Madhab, receives the homage of the faithful. The chief centre of the Mahâpurushias is Barpeta, but they have also monasteries on the Majuli Island and elsewhere. Secondly, the Bamunia monasteries, with a large lay following, represent a brahmanized form of the Mahâpurushia faith. This movement began in the life-time of Madhab. Many of his Brahman disciples seceded from him and founded separate communities which insisted on the observance of caste (especially on the necessity of religious teachers being Brahmans) but tolerated image-worship and the use of some kinds of flesh as food. Though this sect was persecuted by the Ahom kings², they were strong enough to maintain themselves. A compromise was effected in the reign of Rudra Singh (1696–1714), by which their abbots were shown all honour but were assigned the Majuli Island in the upper Brahmaputra as their chief, if not only, residence. This island is still studded with numerous *Sattras* or monasteries, the largest of which contain three or four hundred monks, known as Bhakats (Bhaktas). They take no vows and wear no special costume but are obliged to be celibate while they remain in the *sattrâ*. The Mahâpurushia and Bamunia monasteries are of similar appearance, and in externals (though not in doctrine) seem to have been influenced by the Lamaism of the neighbouring regions of Sikkim and Tibet. The temples are long, low, wooden buildings, covered by roofs of corrugated iron or thatched, and

¹ Some authorities state that the sacred book thus venerated is the Bhagavad-gîtâ, but at Kamalabari I made careful enquiries and was assured it was the Nâmghosha.

² Especially Gadadhar Singh, 1681–96.

containing inside a nave with two rows of wooden pillars which leads to a sanctuary divided from it by a screen. The third sect are the Moamanas of political rather than religious importance. They represent a democratic element recruited from non Hindu tribes which seceded even in the life time of Sankar Deb. They appear to reject nearly all Hindu observances and to worship aboriginal deities as well as Krishna. Little is known of their religious teaching if indeed they have anything worthy of the name but in the latter half of the eighteenth century they distracted the kingdom of Assam with a series of rebellions which were suppressed with atrocious cruelty.

Caitanya is said to have admitted some Mohammedans as members of his sect. The precedent has not been followed among most branches of his later adherents but a curious half secret sect found throughout Bengal in considerable numbers and called Kartābhajas¹ appears to represent an eccentric development of his teaching in combination with Mohammedan elements. Both Moslems and Hindus belong to this sect. They observe the ordinary social customs of the class to which they belong but it is said that those who are nominal Moslems neither circumcize themselves nor frequent mosques. The founder called Ram Smaran Lal was born in the Nadia district about 1700 and his chief doctrine is said to have been that there is only one God who is incarnate in the Head of the sect or Kartā². For the first few generations the headship was invested in the founder and his descendants but dissensions occurred and there is now no one head the faithful can select any male member of the founder's family as the object of their devotion. The Kartā claims to be the owner of every human body and is said to exact rent for the soul's tenancy thereof. No distinction of caste or creed is recognized and hardly any ceremonies are prescribed but meat and wine are forbidden the mantra of the sect is to be repeated five times a day and Friday is held sacred. These observances seem an imitation of Mahammedanism³.

¹ See *Census of India* 1901 Bengal pp. 183-4 and Bhattacharya *Hind Castes and Sects*, pp. 485-489.

² Kartā, literally door is the name given to the executive head of a joint family in Bengal. The sect prefer to call themselves Ibbabajana or Dhaṇawanis.

³ Another mixed sect is that of the Dhāmis in the Panna state of Bṛhmadkhand, founded by one Prannāth in the reign of Aurangzīb. Their doctrine is a combination of Hinduism and Islam tending towards Krishnaism. See Russell, *Tribes and Caste of Central Provinces* p. 217.

CHAPTER XXXI

AMALGAMATION OF HINDUISM AND ISLAM KABIR AND THE SIKHS

1

THE Kartābhajas mentioned at the end of the last chapter show a mixture of Hinduism and Mohammedanism, and the mixture¹ is found in other sects some of which are of considerable importance. A group of these sects, including the Sikhs and followers of Kabir, arose in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their origin can be traced to Rāmānand but they cannot be called Vaiṣṇavas and they are clearly distinguished from all the religious bodies that we have hitherto passed in review. The tone of their writings is more restrained and severe: the worshipper approaches the deity as a servant rather than a lover; caste is rejected as useless; Hindu mythology is eschewed or used sparingly. Yet in spite of these differences the essential doctrines of Tulsī Das, Kabir and Nānak show a great resemblance. They all believe in one deity whom they call by various names, but this deity, though personal, remains of the Indian not of the Semitic type. He somehow brings the world of transmigration into being by his power of illusion, and the business of the soul is to free itself from the illusion and return to him. Almost all these teachers, whether orthodox or heterodox, had a singular facility for composing hymns, often of high literary merit, and it is in these emotional utterances, rather than in dogmatic treatises, that they addressed themselves to the peoples of northern India.

The earliest of these mixed sects is that founded by Kabir². He appears to have been a Mohammedan weaver by birth,

¹ It is exemplified by the curious word *an had limitless*, being the Indian negative prefix added to the arabic word *had* used in the Sikh Granth and by Caran Das as a name of God.

² See especially G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*, and Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, vol. vi pp. 122–316. Also Wilson, *Essays on the religion of the Hindus*, vol. i pp. 68–98. Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue*, II. pp. 120–134. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇv and Śaivism*, pp. 67–73.

though tradition is not unanimous on this point¹. It is admitted however that he was brought up among Moslems at Benares but became a disciple of Rāmānand. This suggests that he lived early in the fifteenth century². Another tradition says that he was summoned before Sikander Lodi (1489-1517) but the details of his life are evidently legendary. We only know that he was married and had a son that he taught in northern and perhaps central India and died at Maghar in the district of Gorakhpur. There is significance however in the legend which relates that after his decease Hindus and Mahammedans disputed as to whether his body should be burned or buried. But when they raised the cloth which covered the corpse they found underneath it only a heap of flowers. So the Hindus took part and burnt them at Benares and the Moslems buried the rest at Maghar. His grave there is still in Moslem keeping.

In teaching Kabir stands midway between the two religions but leaning to the side of Hinduism. It is clear that this Hindu has become stronger in his followers but it is not easy to separate his own teaching from subsequent embellishments for the numerous hymns and sayings attributed to him are collected in compilations made after his death such as the Bijak and the Adigranth of the Sikhs. In hymns which sound authentic he puts Hindus and Moslems on the same footing.

Kabir is a child of Ram and Allah. he says and accepteth all Gurus and Pirs. O God whether Allah or Ram I live by thy name.

Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple
Conscience its prime teacher
Then O priest call men to pray to that mosque
Which hath five gates.
The Hindus and Mussulmans have the same Lord.

But the formalities of both creeds are impartially condemned. They are good riders who keep aloof from the Veda and Koran³. Caste, circumcision and idolatry are reprobated. The Hindu deities and their incarnations are all dead. God was not

¹ The name K. Mir seems to me decisive.

² Dadu who died about 1603 is said to have been fifth in spiritual descent from Kabir.

³ From a hymn in which the spiritual life is represented as a ride. Macauliffe, *vol. p. 156*.

in any of them¹ Ram, it would seem, should be understood not as Râmacandra but as a name of God

Yet the general outlook is Hindu rather than Mohammedan. God is the magician who brings about this illusory world in which the soul wanders² "I was in immobile and mobile creatures, in worms and in moths, I passed through many various births. But when I assumed a human body, I was a Yogi, a Yati, a penitent, a Brahmachârî sometimes an Emperor and sometimes a beggar." Unlike the Sikhs, Kabîr teaches the sanctity of life, even of plants. "Thou cuttest leaves, O flower girl in every leaf there is life." Release, as for all Hindus, consists in escaping from the round of births and deaths. Of this he speaks almost in the language of the Buddha³

"Though I have assumed many shapes, this is my last
The strings and wires of the musical instrument are all worn out
I am now in the power of God's name
I shall not again have to dance to the tune of birth and death
Nor shall my heart accompany on the drum."

This deliverance is accomplished by the union or identification of the soul with God.

"Remove the difference between thyself and God and thou shalt be united with him
Him whom I sought without me, now I find within me
Know God by knowing him thou shalt become as he
When the soul and God are blended no one can distinguish them⁴."

But if he sometimes writes like Śankara, he also has the note of the Psalms and Gospels. He has the sense of sin; he thinks of God in vivid personal metaphors, as a lord, a bridegroom, a parent, both father and mother.

"Save me, O God, though I have offended thee
I forgot him who made me and did cleave unto strangers."

¹ But Hari is sometimes used by Kabîr, especially in the hymns incorporated in the Granth, as a name of God.

² Though Kabîr writes as a poet rather than as a philosopher he evidently leaned to the doctrine of illusion (*vivartavâda*) rather than to the doctrine of manifestation or development (*parinâma-vâda*). He regards Mâyâ as something evil, a trick, a thief, a force which leads men captive, but which disappears with the knowledge of God. "The illusion vanished when I recognized him" (खखखख).

³ He even uses the word *nirvâna*.

⁴ From Kabîr's acrostic *Macauliffe*, vi pp 186 and 188. It is possible that this is a later composition.

and Amar Mul is little more than a loose Vedantism, somewhat reminiscent of Sufism¹

The teaching of Kabir is known as the Kabirpanth. At present there are both Hindus and Mohammedans among his followers and both have monasteries at Maghar where he is buried. The sect numbers in all about a million². It is said that the two divisions have little in common except veneration of Kabir and do not intermix, but they both observe the practice of partaking of sacred meals, holy water³, and consecrated betel nut. The Hindu section is again divided into two branches known as Father (Bap) and Mother (Mai).

Though there is not much that is original in the doctrines of Kabir, he is a considerable figure in Hindi literature and may justly be called epoch-making as marking the first fusion of Hinduism and Islam which culminates and attains political importance in the Sikhs. Other offshoots of his teaching are the Satnâmis, Râdhâ-swâmis and Dâdupanthis. The first were founded or reorganized in 1750 by a certain Jag-jivan-das. They do not observe caste and in theory adore only the True Name of God but in practice admit ordinary Hindu worship. The Râdhâ-swâmis, founded in 1861, profess a combination of the Kabirpanth with Christian ideas. The Dâdupanthis show the influence of the military spirit of Islam. They were founded by Dâdu, a cotton weaver of Ahmedabad who flourished in Akbar's reign and died about 1603. He insisted on the equality of mankind, vegetarianism, abstinence from alcohol and strict celibacy. Hence the sect is recruited by adopting boys, most of whom are trained as soldiers. In such conditions the Dâdupanthis cannot increase greatly but they number about nine thousand and are found chiefly in the state of Jaipur, especially in the town of Naraina⁴.

¹ "The Âtmâ mingles with Paramâtmâ, as the rivers flow into the ocean. Only in this way can Paramâtmâ be found. The Âtmâ without Śabda is blind and cannot find the path. He who sees Âtmâ-Râm is present everywhere. All he sees is like himself. There is nought except Brahmâ. I am he, I am the true Kabir." Westcott, p. 168.

² The Census of 1901 gives 843,171 but there is reason to think the real numbers are larger.

³ Consecrated by washing in it wooden sandals supposed to represent the feet of Kabir. It is stated that they believe they eat the body of Kabir at their sacred meal which perhaps points to Christian influence. See Russell, *l.c.* pp. 239-240.

⁴ See Russell, *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*, p. 217, where it is said that some of them are householders.

2

The Sikh religion¹ is of special interest since it has created not only a political society but also customs so distinctive that those who profess it rank in common esteem as a separate race. The founder Nānak lived from 1469 to 1539 and was born near Lahore. He was a Hindu by birth but came under Mohammedan influence and conceived the idea of reconciling the two faiths. He was attracted by the doctrines of Kabir and did not at first claim to teach a new religion. He wished to unite Hindus and Muslims and described himself simply as Guru or teacher and his adherents as Sikhs or disciples.

He spent the greater part of his life wandering about. In his and is said to have reached Mecca. A beautiful story relates that he fell asleep with his feet turned towards the Kaaba. A mollah kicked him and asked how he dared to turn his feet and not his head towards God. But he answered: Turn my feet in a direction where God is not. He was attended on his wanderings by Mardāna, a lute player, who accompanied the hymns which he never failed to compose when a thought or adventure occurred to him. These compositions are similar to those of Kabir but seem to me of inferior merit. They are diffuse and inordinately long; the Japji for instance which every Sikh ought to recite as his daily prayer fills not less than twenty octavo pages. Yet beautiful and incisive passages are not wanting. When at the temple of Jagannath he was asked to take part in the evening worship at which lights were waved before the god while flowers and incense were presented on golden salvers studded with pearls. But he burst out into song².

The sun and moon O Lord are thy lamps; the firmament thy salver and the orbs of the stars the pearls set therein.

The perfume of the sandal tree is thy incense; the wind is thy fan; all the forests are thy flowers. O Lord of light

Though Nānak is full of Hindu allusions he is more Mohammedan in tone than Kabir and the ritual of Sikh temples is

¹ See especially Macauliffe *The Sikh Religion* six volumes.

² Macauliffe I. p. 8.

modelled on the Mohammedan rather than on the Hindu pattern. The opening words of the Japji are "There is but one God, whose name is true, the Creator¹" and he is regarded rather as the ruler of the world than as a spirit finding expression in it. "By his order" all things happen. "By obeying him" man obtains happiness and salvation. "There is no limit to his mercy and his praises." In the presence of God "man has no power and no strength." Such sentiments have a smack of Mohammed and Nānak sometimes uses the very words of the Koran as when he says that God has no companion. And though the penetrating spirit of the Vedānta infects this regal monotheism, yet the doctrine of Mâyâ is set forth in unusual phraseology. "God himself created the world and himself gave names to things. He made Mâyâ by his power seated, he beheld his work with delight."

In other compositions attributed to Nānak greater prominence is given to Mâyâ and to the common Hindu idea that creation is a self-expansion of the deity. Metempsychosis is taught and the divine name is Hari. This is characteristic of the age, for Nānak was nearly a contemporary of Caitanya and Vallabhâcârya. For Kabir, the disciple of Rāmānanda, the name was Ram.

Nānak was sufficiently conscious of his position as head of a sect to leave a successor as Guru², but there is no indication that at this time the Sikhs differed materially from many other religious bodies who reprobated caste and idolatry. Under the fourth Guru, Ram Das, the beginnings of a change appear. His strong personality collected many wealthy adherents and with their offerings he purchased the tank of Amritsar³ and built in its midst the celebrated Golden Temple. He appointed his son Arjun as Guru in 1581, just before his death the succession was made hereditary and henceforth the Gurus became chiefs rather than spiritual teachers. Arjun assumed some of the insignia of royalty a town grew up round the sacred

¹ The original is Kartâ purukh (=purusha), the creative male. This phrase shows how Hindu habits of thought clung to Nānak.

² The Guru of the Sikhs are (a) Nānak, 1469-1538, (b) Angada, 1538-1552, (c) Amardas, 1552-1575, (d) Ramdas, 1575-1581, (e) Arjun, 1581-1600, (f) Har-Govind, 1600-1639, (g) Har Rai, 1639-1663, (h) Har-Kisan, 1663-1666, (i) Teg Bahadur, 1666-1675, (j) Govind Singh, 1675-1708.

³ Amritasaras the lake of nectar.

tank and became the centre of a community a tax was collected from all Sikhs and they were subjected to special and often salutary legislation Infanticide for instance was strictly forbidden With a view of providing a code and standard Arjun compiled the Granth or Sikh scriptures for though hymns and prayers composed by Nanak and others were in use there was as yet no authorized collection of them The example of Mohammedanism no doubt stimulated the desire to possess a sacred book and the veneration of the scriptures increased with time The Granth now receives the same kind of respect as the Koran and the first sight of a Sikh temple with a large open volume on a reading-desk cannot fail to recall a mosque

Arjun's compilation is called the *Ādi-granth* or original book to distinguish it from the later additions made by Guru Govind It comprises hymns and prayers by Nanak and the four Gurus who followed him (including Arjun himself) Rāmānand Kabir and others amounting to thirty five writers in all The list is interesting as testifying to the existence of a great body of oral poetry by various authors ranging from Rāmānand who had not separated himself from orthodox Vishnuism to Arjun the chief of the Sikh national community It was evidently felt that all these men had one inspiration coming from one truth and even now unwritten poems of Nanak are current in Bihar The Granth is written in a special alphabet known as Gurmukhi¹ and contains both prose and poetical pieces in several languages most are in old western Hindi² but some are in Panjabi and Marathi.

But though in compiling a sacred book and in uniting the temporal and spiritual power Arjun was influenced by the spirit of Mohammedanism this is not the sort of imitation which makes for peace The combination of Hinduism and Islam resulted in the production of a special type of Hindu peculiarly distasteful to Moslems and not much loved by other Hindus Much of Arjun's activity took place in the later years of the Emperor Akbar This most philosophic and tolerant of princes abandoned Mohammedanism after 1579 remitted the special

¹ It appears to be an arbitrary adaptation of the Deva-nāgarī characters. The shape of the letters is mostly the same but new values are assigned to them.

² This is the description of the dialect given by Grierson, the highest authority in such matters.

taxes payable by non-Moslims and adopted many Hindu observances Towards the end of his life he promulgated a new creed known as the Din-i-ilahi or divine faith This eclectic and composite religion bears testimony to his vanity as well as to his large sympathies, for it recognized him as the viceregent or even an incarnation of God It would appear that the singular little work called the Allopanishad or Allah Upanishad¹ was written in connection with this movement It purports to be an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda and can hardly be described as other than a forgery It declares that "the Allah of the prophet Muhammad Akbar² is the God of Gods" and identifies him with Mitra, Varuna, the sun, moon, water, Indra, etc Akbar's religion did not long survive his death and never flourished far from the imperial court, but somewhat later (1656) Muhammad Dara Shukoh, the son of Shah Jehan, caused a Persian translation of about fifty Upanishads, known as the Oupnekhat³, to be prepared The general temper of the period was propitious to the growth and immunity of mixed forms of belief, but the warlike and semi-political character of the Sikh community brought trouble on it

Arjun attracted the unfavourable attention of Akbar's successor, Jehangir⁴, and was cast into prison where he died The Sikhs took up arms and henceforth regarded themselves as the enemies of the government, but their strength was wasted by internal dissensions The ninth Guru, Teg-Bahadur, was executed by Aurungzeb Desire to avenge this martyrdom and the strenuous character of the tenth Guru, Govind Singh (1675-1708), completed the transformation of the Sikhs into a church militant devoted to a holy war

Though the most aggressive and uncompromising features of Sikhism are due to the innovations of Govind, he was so far from being a theological bigot that he worshipped Durgâ and

¹ See Rajendrala Mitra's article in *J A S B* XL 1871, pp 170-176, which gives the Sanskrit text of the Upanishad Also Schrader, *Catalogue of Adyar Library*, 1908, pp 136-7 Schrader states that in the north of India the Allopanishad is recited by Brahmans at the Vasantotsava and on other occasions also that in southern India it is generally believed that Moslims are skilled in the Atharva Veda.

² *I e*, not the Allah of the Koran

³ This Persian translation was rendered word for word into very strange Latin by Anquetil Duperron (1801-2) and this Latin version was used by Schopenhauer

⁴ He is said to have prayed for the success of the Emperor's rebellious son

ordinary account this victory was followed by an orgy of torture and Banda was barbarously executed after witnessing during seven days the torments of his followers and kinsmen. We read with pleasure but incredulity that one division of the Sikhs believe that he escaped and promulgated his peculiar doctrines in Sind. Asiatics do not relish the idea that the chosen of God can suffer violent death.

The further history of the Sikhs is political rather than religious, and need not detain us here. Despite the efforts of the Mughals to exterminate them, they were favoured by the disturbed state of the country in the early decades of the eighteenth century, for the raids of Afghans and Persians convulsed and paralyzed the empire of Delhi. The government of the Khalsa passed into the hands of a body of fanatics, called Akâlis, but the decision of grave matters rested with a council of the whole community which occasionally met at Amritsar. Every Sikh claimed to have joined the confederacy as an independent soldier, bound to fight under his military leaders but otherwise exempt from control, and entitled to a share of land. This absolute independence, being unworkable in practice, was modified by the formation of Misals or voluntary associations, of which there were at one time twelve. From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards the Sikhs were masters of the Panjab and their great chief Ranjit Singh (1797–1839) succeeded in converting the confederacy into a despotic monarchy. Their power did not last long after his death and the Panjab was conquered by the British in the two wars of 1846 and 1849.

With the loss of political independence, the differences between the Sikhs and other Hindus tended to decrease. This was natural, for nearly all their strictly religious tenets can be paralleled in Hinduism. Guru Govind waged no war against polytheism but wished to found a religious commonwealth equally independent of Hindu castes and Mohammedan sultans. For some time his ordinances were successful in creating a tribe, almost a nation. With the collapse of the Sikh state, the old hatred of Mohammedanism remained, but the Sikhs differed from normal Hindus hardly more than such sects as the Lingâyats, and, as happened with decadent Buddhism, the unobtrusive pressure of Hindu beliefs and observances tended to obliterate

those differences. The Census of India¹ 1901 enumerated three degrees of Sikhism. The first comprises a few zealots called Akālīs who observe all the precepts of Govind. The second class are the Guru Govind Sikhs who observe the Guru's main commands especially the prohibition to smoke and cut the hair. Lastly there are a considerable number who profess a respect for the Guru but follow Hindu beliefs and usages wholly or in part. Sikhism indeed reproduces on a small scale the changeableness and complexity of Hinduism and includes associations called *Sabhā* whose members aim at restoring or maintaining what they consider to be the true faith. In 1901 there was a tendency for Sikhs to give up their peculiarities and describe themselves as ordinary Hindus but in the next decade a change of sentiment among these waverers caused the Sikh community as registered to increase by thirty-seven per cent and a period of religious zeal is reported.²

¹ *Census of India*, 1901 Panjab report, p. 122.

Provincial Geographies of India, Panjab, Douie, 1916, p. 117.

CHAPTER XXXII

ŚÂKTISM¹

AMONG the principal sub-divisions of Hinduism must be reckoned the remarkable religion known as Śâktism, that is the worship of Śakti or Śiva's spouse under various names, of which Devî, Durgâ and Kâlî are the best known. It differs from most sects in not being due to the creative or reforming energy of any one human founder. It claims to be a revelation from Śiva himself, but considered historically it appears to be a compound of Hinduism with un-Aryan beliefs. It acquired great influence both in the courts and among the people of north-eastern India but without producing personalities of much eminence as teachers or writers.

It would be convenient to distinguish Śâktism and Tantrism, as I have already suggested. The former means the worship of a goddess or goddesses, especially those who are regarded as forms of Śiva's consort. Vishnuites sometimes worship female deities, but though the worship of Lakshmî, Râdhâ and others may be coloured by imitation of Śâktist practices, it is less conspicuous and seems to have a different origin. Tantrism is a system of magical or sacramental ritual, which professes to attain the highest aims of religion by such methods as spells, diagrams, gestures and other physical exercises. One of its bases is the assumption that man and the universe correspond as microcosm and macrocosm and that both are subject to the mysterious power of words and letters.

These ideas are not modern nor peculiar to any Indian sect. They are present in the Vedic ceremonial, in the practices of the Yoga and even in the teaching of the quasi-mussulman sect of Kabîr, which attaches great importance to the letters of the divine name. They harmonize with the common Indian view that some form of discipline or physical training is essential to

¹ See also chap. XXIV as to Śâktism and Tantrism in Buddhism. Copious materials for the study of Śâktism and Tantrism are being made available in the series of tantric texts edited in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and in some cases translated by the author who uses the pseudonym A. Avalon.

the religious life. They are found in a highly developed form among the Nambūtiris and other Brahmans of southern India who try to observe the Vedic rules and in the Far East among Buddhists of the Shingon or Chên yan sect¹. As a rule they receive the name of Tantrism only when they are elaborated into a system which claims to be a special dispensation for this life and to supersede more arduous methods which are politely set aside as practicable only for the hero saints of happier times. Tantrism like salvation by faith is a simplification of religion, a shift on mechanical rather than emotional lines though its efficiency in emotion often finds strange compensations.

But Tantrism is analogous not so much to justification by faith as to sacramental ritual. The parallel may seem shocking but most tantric ceremonies are similar in idea to Christian sacraments and may be called sacramental as correctly as magical. Even in the Anglican Church baptism includes sprinkling with water (abhishoka) the sign of the cross (nyāsa) and a formula (mantra) and if any one supposes that a child so treated is sure of heaven whereas the future of the unbaptized is dubious he holds like the Tantrists that spiritual ends can be attained by physical means. And in the Roman Church where the rite includes exorcism and the use of salt, oil and incense the parallel is still closer. Christian mysticism has had much to do with symbolism and even with alchemy² and Zoroastrianism which is generally regarded as a reasonable religion attaches extraordinary importance to holy spells³. Indian religions are not singular in this respect though the Zoroastrian thoroughness with which they work out this religious idea leads to startling results.

So the worship of female deities becomes prominent somewhat more in Indian literature and it does not represent—not to the like extent as the Chinese cult of Kwan yin for example—the higher ideals of the period when it appears. The goddesses of late Rig Veda are insignificant they are little more than names and grammatically often the feminine forms of their consorts. But this Veda is evidently a special manual of prayer from which many departments of popular religion were excluded. In

¹ See *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Tome VIII, Et Do-In Dzon. Gestes d'Officiant des cérémonies mystiques des sectes Tendai et Shingon, 1899.

² See Underhill, *Mysticism* chaps. vi and vii.

³ See Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology* p. 118.

the Atharva Veda many spirits with feminine names are invoked and there is an inclination to personify bad qualities and disasters as goddesses. But we do not find any goddess who has attained a position comparable with that held by Durgâ, Cybele or Astarte, though there are some remarkable hymns¹ addressed to the Earth. But there is no doubt that the worship of goddesses (especially goddesses of fertility) as great powers is both ancient and widespread. We find it among the Egyptians and Semites, in Asia Minor, in Greece, Italy, and among the Kelts. The goddess Anahit, who was worshipped with immoral rites in Bactria, is figured on the coins of the Kushans and must at one time have been known on the north-western borders of India. At the present day Śītalâ and in south India Mariamman are goddesses of smallpox who require propitiation, and one of the earliest deities known to have been worshipped by the Tamils is the goddess Kottavai². Somewhat obscure but widely worshipped are the powers known as the Mothers, a title which also occurs in Keltic mythology. They are groups of goddesses varying in number and often malevolent. As many as a hundred and forty are said to be worshipped in Gujarat. The census of Bengal (1901) records the worship of the earth, sun and rivers as females, of the snake goddesses Manasâ and Jagat Gaurî and of numerous female demons who send disease, such as the seven sisters, Ola Bibî, Joginî and the Churels, or spirits of women who have died in childbirth.

The rites celebrated in honour of these deities are often of a questionable character and include dances by naked women and offerings of spirituous liquors and blood. Similar features are found in other countries. Prostitution formed part of the worship of Astarte and Anahit. The Tauric Artemis was adored with human sacrifices and Cybele with self-inflicted mutilations. Similarly offerings of blood drawn from the sacrificer's own body are enjoined in the Kâhikâ Purâna. Two stages can be distinguished in the relations between these cults and Hinduism. In the later stage which can be witnessed even at the present day an aboriginal goddess or demon is identified with one of the aspects (generally a "black" or fierce aspect) of Śiva's

¹ Specially Ath. Veda, xii. 1

² Village deities in south India at the present day are usually female. See Whitehead, *Village Gods*, p. 21

spouse¹ But such identification is facilitated by the fact that goddesses like Kālī Bhairavī Chinnamastakā are not products of purely Hindu imagination but represent earlier stages of amalgamation in which Hindu and aboriginal ideas are already compounded. When the smallpox goddess is identified with Kālī the procedure is correct for some popular forms of Kālī are little more than an aboriginal deity of pestilence draped with Hindu imagery and philosophy.

Some Hindu scholars demur to this derivation of Śāktism from lower cults. They point to its refined and philosophic aspects they see in it the worship of a goddess who can be as merciful as the Madonna but yet since she is the goddess of nature combines in one shape life and death. May not the grosser forms of Śāktism be perversions and corruptions of an ancient and higher faith? In support of this it may be urged that the Buddhist goddess Tārā is as a rule a beautiful and benevolent figure though she can be terrible as the enemy of evil and has clear affinities to Durgā. Yet the history of Indian thought does not support this view but rather the view that Hinduism incorporated certain ancient ideas true and striking as ancient ideas often are but without purging them sufficiently to make them acceptable to the majority of educated Indians.

The Yajur Veda² associates Rudra with a female deity called Ambikā or mother who is however his sister not his spouse. The earliest forms of the latter seem to connect her with mountains. She is Umā Haimavatī the daughter of the Himalayas, and Pārvatī she of the mountains and was perhaps originally a sacred peak. In an interesting but brief passage of the Kena Upanishad (iii 12 and iv 1) Umā Haimavatī explains to the gods that a being whom they do not know is Brahman. In later times we hear of a similar goddess in the Vindhyas Mahārāṇī Vindhyaśvarī who was connected with human sacrifices and Thugs³. Śiva's consort like her Lord has many forms classified as white or benignant and black or terrible. Umā belongs to the former class but the latter (such as Kālī

Thus Cāndī is considered as identical with the wood goddess Bāmū worshipped in the jungles of Bengal and Orissa. See *J.A.* 1872, p. 187.

¹ *Vaj. Sanh.* 3. 57 and *Taittirī Br.* 1. 6. 10. 4.

² Crooke, *Popular Religion of Northern India* 1. 63. Monier-Williams *Brahma and Hinduism*, p. 57 gives an interesting account of the shrine of Kālī at Vindhyaśāl said to have been formerly frequented by Thugs.

Durgâ, Câmundâ, Candâ and Karalâ) are more important¹ Female deities bearing names like these are worshipped in most parts of India, literally from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, for the latter name is derived from Kumârî, the Virgin goddess² But the names Śākta and Śāktism are usually restricted to those sects in Bengal and Assam who worship the Consort of Śiva with the rites prescribed in the Tantras

Śāktism regards the goddess as the active manifestation of the godhead. As such she is styled Śakti, or energy (whence the name Śākta), and is also identified with Mâyâ, the power which is associated with Brahman and brings the phenomenal world into being. Similar ideas appear in a philosophic form in the Sāṅkhya teaching. Here the soul is masculine and passive; its task is to extricate and isolate itself. But Prakṛiti or Nature is feminine and active; to her is due the evolution of the universe; she involves the soul in actions which cause pain but she also helps the work of liberation³. In its fully developed form the doctrine of the Tantras teaches that Śakti is not an emanation or aspect of the deity. There is no distinction between Brahman and Śakti. She is Parabrahman and *parātparâ*, Supreme of the Supreme.

The birthplace of Śāktism as a definite sect seems to have been north-eastern India⁴ and though it is said to be extending in the United Provinces, its present sphere of influence is still

¹ This idea that deities have different aspects in which they practically become different persons is very prevalent in Tibetan mythology which is borrowed from medieval Bengal.

² Though there are great temples erected to goddesses in S. India, there are also some signs of hostility to Śāktism. See the curious legends about an attendant of Śiva called Bhṛngi who would not worship Pârvatî. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 190.

³ There is a curious tendency in India to regard the male principle as quiescent, the female as active and stimulating. The Chinese, who are equally fond of using these two principles in their cosmological speculations, adopt the opposite view. The *Yang* (male) is positive and active. The *Yin* (female) is negative and passive.

⁴ The Mahānirvāṇa Tantra seems to have been composed in Bengal since it recommends for sacrificial purposes (vi. 7) three kinds of fish said to be characteristic of that region. On the other hand Buddhist works called Tantras are said to have been composed in north-western India. Udyāna had an old reputation for magic and even in modern times Śāktism exists in western Tibet and Leh. It is highly probable that in all these districts the practice of magic and the worship of mountain goddesses were prevalent, but I find little evidence that a definite Śākta sect arose elsewhere than in Bengal and Assam or that the Śāktist corruption of Buddhism prevailed elsewhere than in Magadha and Bengal.

chiefly Bengal and Assam¹. The population of these countries is not Aryan (though the Bengali language bears witness to the strong Aryan influence which has prevailed there) and is largely composed of immigrants from the north belonging to the Tibeto-Burman Mon Khmer and Shan families. These tribes remain distinct in Assam but the Bengali represents the fusion of such invaders with a Munda or Dravidian race leavened by a little Aryan blood in the higher castes. In all this region we hear of no ancient Brahmanic settlements, no ancient centres of Vedic or even Puranic learning² and when Buddhism decayed no body of Brahmanic tradition such as existed in other parts of India imposed its authority on the writers of the Tantras. Even at the present day the worship of female spirits, only half acknowledged by the Brahmans, prevails among these people and in the past the national deities of many tribes were goddesses who were propitiated with human sacrifices. Thus the Chutiyas of Sadiya used to adore a goddess called Kesa Khata—the eater of raw flesh. The rites of these deities were originally performed by tribal priests, but as Hindu influence spread the Brahmans gradually took charge of them without modifying their character in essentials. Popular Bengali poetry represents these goddesses as demanding worship and feeling that they are slighted, they persecute those who ignore them but shower blessings on their worshippers even on the obdurate who are at last compelled to do them homage. The language of mythology could not describe more clearly the endeavours of a plebeian cult to obtain recognition³.

The Mahābhārata contains hymns to Durgā in which she is said to love offerings of flesh and wine⁴ but it is not likely that Śāktism or Tantrism—that is a system with special scriptures

¹ But the Brahmans of isolated localities, like Salars in the Bombay Presidency are said to be Śāktas and the Kāśīculiyas of B. India are described as a Śāktist sect.

² The law-giver Baudhāyana seems to have regarded Aṅga and Vāṅga with suspicion, I. 1. 13, 14.

See especially the story of Man and Devi in Dinosh Chandra Sen (*Ben. Lang. and Lit.* 257), who says the earliest literary version dates from the twelfth century. But doubtless the story is much older.

⁴ *Vīratap.* chap. VI. (not in all MSS.). *Bhīshmap.* chap. XVIII. Also in the *Harivaṃs.* vol. 3230 ff. Pargiter considers that the *Devi Māhātmya* was probably composed in the fifth or sixth century. Chap. XXI. of the *Lotus Sūtra* contains a spell invoking a goddess under many names. Though this chapter is an addition to the original work, it was translated into Chinese between 265 and 316.

and doctrines was prevalent before the seventh century A D for the Tantras are not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims and the lexicon *Amara Kosha* (perhaps c 500 A D) does not recognize the word as a designation of religious books Bâna (c 630) gives more than once in his romances lists of sectaries but though he mentions Bhâgavatas and Pâsupatas, he does not speak of Śâktas¹ On the other hand Tantrism infected Buddhism soon after this period The earlier Tibetan translations of the Tantras are attributed to the ninth century MSS of the Kubjikâmata and other Tantras are said to date from the ninth and even from the seventh century and tradition represents Sankarâcârya as having contests with Śâktas² But many Tantras were written in the fifteenth century and even later, for the Yoginî Tantra alludes to the Koch king Bishwa Singh (1515-1540) and the Meru Tantra mentions London and the English

From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, when Buddhism, itself deeply infected with Tantrism, was disappearing, Śâktism was probably the most powerful religion in Bengal, but Vishnuism was gaining strength and after the time of Caitanya proved a formidable rival to it At the beginning of the fifteenth century we hear that the king of the Ahoms summoned Brahmans to his Court and adopted many Hindu rites and beliefs, and from this time onward Śâktism was patronized by most of the Assamese Rajas although after 1550 Vishnuism became the religion of the mass of the people Śâktism never inspired any popular or missionary movement, but it was powerful among the aristocracy and instigated persecutions against the Vishnuites

The more respectable Tantras³ show considerable resemblance to the later Upanishads such as the Nrisinhatâpanîya and Râmatâpanîya, which mention Śakti in the sense of creative energy⁴ Both classes of works treat of magical formulæ (mantras)

¹ But he does mention the worship of the Divine Mothers Harshacar vii 250 and Kâdamb 134

² Hymns to the Devî are also attributed to him but I do not know what evidence there is for his authorship

³ As pointed out elsewhere, though this word is most commonly used of the Śakta scriptures it is not restricted to them and we hear of both Buddhist and Vaishnava Tantras

⁴ The Adhyâtma Râmâyana is an instance of Śâktist ideas in another theological setting It is a Vishnuite work but Sitâ is made to say that she is *Prakriti* who does all the deeds related in the poem, whereas Râma is *Purusha*, inactive and a witness of her deeds

and the construction of mystic diagrams or yantras. This resemblance does not give us much assistance in chronology for the dates of the later Upanishads are very uncertain, but it shows how the Tantras are connected with other branches of Hindu thought.

The distinction between Tantras and Purāṇas is not always well marked. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa countenances tantric rites¹ and the Agni Purāṇa (from chapter xxi onwards) bears a strong resemblance to a Tantra. As a rule the Tantras contain less historical and legendary matter than the Purāṇas and more directions as to ritual. But whereas the Purāṇas approve of both Vedic rites and others the Tantras insist that ceremonies other than those which they prescribe are now useless. They maintain that each age of the world has its own special revelation and that in this age the Tantra-śāstra is the only scripture. Thus in the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra Śiva says² The fool who would follow other doctrines heedless of mine is as great a sinner as a parricide or the murderer of a Brahman or of a woman. The Vedic rites and mantras which were efficacious in the first age have ceased to have power in this. They are now as powerless as snakes whose fangs have been drawn and are like dead things. The Kulārpava Tantra (I 79 ff.) inveighs against those who think they will obtain salvation by Vedic sacrifices or asceticism or reading sacred books whereas it can be won only by tantric rites.

Various lists of Tantras are given and it is generally admitted that many have been lost. The most complete but somewhat theoretical enumeration³ divides India and the adjoining lands into three regions to each of which sixty-four Tantras are assigned. The best known names are perhaps Mahānirvāṇa⁴ Śāradaṭīlaka⁵ Yoginī, Kulārpava⁶ and Rudra Yāmala. A Tantra

xl. iii. 47-8; xl. v. 28 and 31. Probably Viṣṇuistic not Śāktist Tantras are meant but the Purāṇa distinguishes between Vedic revelation meant for previous ages and tantric revelation meant for the present day. So too Kullūka Bhaṭṭa the commentator on Manu who was a Bengali and probably lived in the fifteenth century says (on M. ii. 1.) that Śruti is twofold, Vedic and tantric. *Śrutiḥ ca vedikā caidāṅkī tādāṅkī*.
ii. 15.

See for full list Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, pp. lxx-lxxvii. A collection of thirty-seven Tantras has been published at Calcutta by Babu R. Sri Mohun Chatterjee and a few have been published separately.

¹ Translated by Avalon, 1913, also by Manmatha Nath Dutt, 1900.

Analyzed in J.A.O.S. xxiii. 1. 1902.

Edited by Tārānātha Vidyārātra, with introduction by A. Avalon. 1917.

is generally cast in the form of a dialogue in which Śiva instructs his consort but sometimes *vice versa*. It is said that the former class are correctly described as Āgamas and the works where the Śakti addresses Śiva as Nigamas¹. Some are also called Yāmālas and Dāmaras but I have found no definition of the meaning of these words. The Prapañcasāra Tantra² professes to be a revelation from Nārāyaṇa.

Śāktism and the Tantras which teach it are generally condemned by Hindus of other sects³. It is arguable that this condemnation is unjust, for like other forms of Hinduism the Tantras make the liberation of the soul their object and prescribe a life of religious observances including asceticism and meditation, after which the adept becomes released even in this life. But however much new tantric literature may be made accessible in future, I doubt if impartial criticism will come to any opinion except that Śāktism and Tantrism collect and emphasize what is superficial, trivial and even bad in Indian religion, omitting or neglecting its higher sides. If for instance the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra which is a good specimen of these works be compared with Śāṅkara's commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras, or the poems of Tulsī Das, it will be seen that it is woefully deficient in the excellences of either. But many tantric treatises are chiefly concerned with charms, spells, amulets and other magical methods of obtaining wealth, causing or averting disease and destroying enemies, processes which even if efficacious have nothing to do with the better side of religion⁴.

The religious life prescribed in the Tantras⁵ commences with initiation and requires the supervision of the Guru. The object of it is *Siddhi* or success, the highest form of which is spiritual perfection. *Siddhi* is produced by *Sādhana*, or that method of

¹ See Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. lxi. But these are probably special meanings attached to the words by tantric schools. *Nigama* is found pretty frequently, e.g. Manu, iv. 19 and Laṭṭa vistara, xii. But it is not likely that it is used there in this special sense.

² Edited by Avalon, 1914.

³ Satirical descriptions of Śāktism are fairly ancient, e.g. Karpura Mañjarī, Harvard edition, pp. 25 and 233.

⁴ Tantrism has some analogy to the Fêng shui or geomancy of the Chinese. Both take ancient superstitions which seem incompatible with science and systematize them into pseudo sciences, remaining blind to the fact that the subject matter is wholly imaginary.

⁵ For what follows as for much else in this chapter, I am indebted to Avalon's translation of the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra and introduction.

training the physical and psychic faculties which realizes their potentialities. Tantric training assumes a certain constitution of the universe and the repetition in miniature of this constitution in the human body which contains various nervous centres and subtle channels for the passage of energy unknown to vulgar anatomy. Thus the Śakti who pervades the universe is also present in the body as Kuṇḍalinī a serpentine coil of energy and it is part of Sādhana to arouse this energy and make it mount from the lower to the higher centres. Kuṇḍalinī is also present in sounds and in letters. Hence if different parts of the body are touched to the accompaniment of appropriate mantras (which rite is called nyāsa) the various Śaktis are made to dwell in the human frame in suitable positions.

The Tantras recognize that human beings are not equal and that codes and rituals must vary according to temperament and capacity. Three conditions of men, called the animal, heroic and divine¹ are often mentioned and are said to characterize three periods of life—youth, manhood and age or three classes of mankind, non-tantrists, ordinary tantrists and adepts. These three conditions clearly correspond to the three Gūṇas. Also men or rather Hindus belong to one of seven groups or stages according to the religious practices which it is best for them to follow. Śāktists apparently demur² to the statement commonly made by Indians as well as by Europeans that they are divided into two sects, the Dakṣiṇācārins or right-hand worshippers whose ritual is public and decent and the Vāmācārins who meet to engage in secret but admittedly immoral orgies. But for practical purposes the division is just although it must not be supposed that Dakṣiṇācārins necessarily condemn the secret worship. They may consider it as good for others but not for themselves. Śāktists apparently would prefer to state the matter thus. There are seven stages of religion. First come Vedic, Viṣṇuīte and Śivaīte worship, all three inferior and then Dakṣiṇācāra, interpreted as meaning favourable worship that is favourable to the accomplishment of higher purposes because the worshipper now begins to understand the nature of Devī the great goddess. These four kinds of worship are all said to belong to *pravṛtti* or active life. The other three considered to be higher require a special initiation and belong to *nivṛtti* the

¹ Paśu-, vīra-, divya-bhāva.

Avalon, *U. Hār. Tan.* pp. lxvix, lxxx.

path of return in which passion and activity are suppressed¹. And here is propounded the doctrine that passion can be destroyed and exhausted by passion², that is to say that the impulses of eating, drinking and sexual intercourse are best subjugated by indulging them. The fifth stage, in which this method is first adopted, is called Vâmâcâra³. In the sixth, or Siddhântâcâra⁴, the adept becomes more and more free from passion and prejudice and is finally able to enter Kaulâcâra, the highest stage of all. A Kaula is one who has passed beyond all sects and belongs to none, since he has the knowledge of Brahman. "Possessing merely the form of man, he moves about this earth for the salvation of the world and the instruction of men⁵."

These are aspirations common to all Indian religion. The peculiarity of the Tantras is to suppose that a ritual which is shocking to most Hindus is an indispensable preliminary to their attainment⁶. Its essential feature is known as *pancatattva*, the five elements, or *pancamakâra* the five m's, because they all begin with that letter, namely, *madya*, *mâmsa*, *matsya*, *mudrâ*, and *marthuna*, wine, meat, fish, parched grain and copulation. The celebration of this ritual takes place at midnight, and is called *cakra* or circle. The proceedings begin by the devotees seating themselves in a circle and are said to terminate in an indiscriminate orgy. It is only fair to say that some Tantras inveigh against drunkenness and authorize only moderate drinking⁷. In all cases it is essential that the wine, flesh, etc.,

¹ "The eternal rhythm of Divine Breath is outwards from spirit to matter and inwards from matter to spirit. Devî as Mâyâ evolves the world. As Mahâmâyâ she recalls it to herself. Each of these movements is divine. Enjoyment and liberation are each her gifts." Avalon, *Mahân Tan* p. cvl.

² *Yat eva patanam dravyair siddhis tair eva coditâ*—Kulârnavâ Tantra, v. 48. There is probably something similar in Taoism. See Wieger, *Histoire des Croyances religieuses en Chine*, p. 409. The Indian Tantrists were aware of the dangers of their system and said it was as difficult as walking on the edge of a sword or holding a tiger.

³ Vâmâcâra is said not to mean left-hand worship but woman (vâmâ) worship. This interpretation of Dakshina and Vâmâcâra is probably fanciful.

⁴ Sometimes two extra stages Aghora and Yogâcâra are inserted here.

⁵ *Mahân Tan* x. 108. A Kaula may pretend to be a Vaishnava or a Śaiva.

⁶ Although the Tantras occasionally say that mere ritual is not sufficient for the highest religions, yet *indispensable preliminary* is often understood as meaning *sure means*. Thus the *Mahânirvâna Tantra* (x. 202, Avalon's transl.) says "Those who worship the Kaulas with *panca tattva* and with heart uplifted, cause the salvation of their ancestors and themselves attain the highest end."

⁷ But on the other hand some Tantras or tantric treatises recommend crazy abominations.

should be formally dedicated to the goddess without this preliminary indulgence in these pleasures is sinful. Indeed it may be said that apart from the ceremonial which they inculcate the general principles of the Tantras breathe a liberal and intelligent spirit. Caste restrictions are minimized, travelling is permitted. Women are honoured, they can act as teachers, the burning of widows is forbidden¹, girl widows may remarry² and the murder of a woman is peculiarly heinous. Prostitution is denounced. Whereas Christianity is sometimes accused of restricting its higher code to Church and Sunday, the opposite may be said of Tantrism. Outside the temple its morality is excellent.

A work like the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra presents a refined form of Śāktism modified so far as may be in conformity with ordinary Hindu usage³. But other features indubitably connect it with aboriginal cults. For instance there is a legend which relates how the body of the Śakti was cut into pieces and scattered over Assam and Bengal. This story has an uncouth and barbarous air and seems out of place even in Puranic mythology. It recalls the tales told of Osiris, Orpheus and Hælsdan the Black⁴ and may be ultimately traceable to the idea that the dismemberment of a deity or a human representative ensures fertility. Until recently the Khonds of Bengal used to hack human victims in pieces as a sacrifice to the Earth Goddess and throw the shreds of flesh on the fields to secure a good harvest⁵. In Sanskrit literature I have not found any authority for the dismemberment of Sati earlier than the Tantras or Upapurāṇas (e.g. Kālikā) but this late appearance does not mean that the legend is late in itself but merely that it was not countenanced by Sanskrit writers until medieval times. Various reasons for the dismemberment are given and the incident is rather awkwardly tacked on to other stories. One common version relates that when Sati (one of the many forms of Śakti) died of vexation because her husband Śiva was insulted by her

¹ Mahā : Tant. x. 79. Bhartr̥śaba kulakāni na dabet kulakāni | m.

² Ib. xl. 67.

³ E.g. It does not prescribe human sacrifices and counsels moderation in the use of wine and meat.

See Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* pp. 269-273 for these and other stories of dismemberment.

⁵ See Frazer *Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn* vol. i. 345 and authorities quoted.

father Daksha, Śiva took up her corpse and wandered distractedly carrying it on his shoulder¹ In order to stop this penance Vishnu followed him and cut off pieces from the corpse with his quoit until the whole had fallen to earth in fifty-one pieces The spots where these pieces touched the ground are held sacred and called pīths At most of them are shown a rock supposed to represent some portion of the goddess's body and some object called a bhairabi, left by Śiva as a guardian to protect her and often taking the form of a lingam The most important of these pīths are Kāmākhyâ near Gauhati, Faljur in the Jaintia Parganas, and Kalighat in Calcutta²

Though the Śakti of Śiva is theoretically one, yet since she assumes many forms she becomes in practice many deities or rather she is many deities combined in one or sometimes a sovereign attended by a retinue of similar female spirits Among such forms we find the ten Mahâvidyâs, or personifications of her supernatural knowledge, the Mahâmâtris, Mâtrikâs or the Great Mothers, allied to the aboriginal goddesses already mentioned, the Nâyakas or mistresses, the Yoginîs or sorceresses, and fiends called Dâkinîs But the most popular of her manifestations are Durgâ and Kâlî The sects which revere these goddesses are the most important religious bodies in Bengal, where they number thirty-five million adherents The Durgâpûja is the greatest festival of the year in north-eastern India³ and in the temple of Kalighat at Calcutta may be seen the singular spectacle of educated Hindus decapitating goats before the image of Kâlî It is a black female figure with gaping mouth and protruded tongue dancing on a prostrate body⁴, and

¹ Images representing this are common in Assam

² Hsüan Chuang (Watters, vol 1 chap VII) mentions several sacred places in N W India where the Buddha in a previous birth was dismembered or gave his flesh to feed mankind. Can these places have been similar to the pīths of Assam and were the original heroes of the legend deities who were dismembered like Satî and subsequently accommodated to Buddhist theology as Bodhisattvas?

³ It is an autumnal festival A special image of the goddess is made which is worshipped for nine days and then thrown into the river For an account of the festival which makes its tantric character very clear see Durga Puja by Pratapachandra Ghosha, Calcutta, 1871

⁴ One explanation given is that she was so elated with her victories over giants that she began to dance which shook the Universe Śiva in order to save the world placed himself beneath her feet and when she saw she was trampling on her husband, she stopped But there are other explanations

Another of the strangely barbaric legends which cluster round the Śakti is

adorned with skulls and horrid emblems of destruction. Of her four hands two carry a sword and a severed head but the other two are extended to give blessing and protection to her worshippers. So great is the crowd of enthusiastic suppliants that it is often hard to approach the shrine and the nationalist party in Bengal who clamour for parliamentary institutions are among the goddess's devotees.

It is easy to criticize and condemn this worship. Its outward signs are repulsive to Europeans and its inner meaning strange for even those who pray to the Madonna are startled by the idea that the divine nature is essentially feminine¹. Yet this idea has deep roots in the heart of Bengal and with it another idea—the terrors of death, plague and storm are half but only half revelations of the goddess mother who can be smiling and tender as well. Whatever may be the origin of Kālī and of the strange images which represent her, she is now no she-devil who needs to be propitiated but a reminder that birth and death are twins, that the horrors of the world come from the same source as its grace and beauty and that cheerful acceptance of the deity's terrible manifestations is an essential part of the higher spiritual life². These ideas are best expressed in the songs of Rāma Prasad Sen (1718–1775) which still reign supreme in the villages of Bengal and show that this strange worship has really a hold on millions of Indian rustics³. The directness and childlike simplicity of his poems have caused an Indian critic to compare him to Blake. Though the mother beat the child, he sings, the child cries mother mother and clings still

illustrated by the figure called *Chin-m-takā*. It represents the goddess as carrying her own head which she has just cut off, while from the neck spout fountains of blood which are drunk by her attendants and by the severed head itself.

¹ Yet the English mystic Julian, the anchoress of Norwich (c. 1400), insists on the motherhood as well as the fatherhood of God. "God is our mother, brother and Saviour. As verily God is our father, so verily God is our mother."

So too in an inscription found at Capua (C.I.N. 3580) Isis is addressed as *no greater as omnia*.

The Poet addressed in Swinburne's poems *Mater Triumphalis Hertha*, *The Pilgrims* and *Dolores* is really a conception very similar to Śakti.

These ideas find frequent expression in the works of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Dinanāth Chandra Sen and Sister Nivedita.

² See Dinanāth Chandra Sen, *Hist. Beng. Lang. and Lit.*, pp. 71–721. Even the iconoclast Devendranāth Tagore speaks of the Universal Mother. See *Autobiog.* p. 240.

tighter to her garment True, I cannot see thee, yet I am not a lost child I still cry mother, mother ”

“All the miseries that I have suffered and am suffering, I know, O mother, to be your mercy alone ”

I must confess that I cannot fully sympathize with this worship, even when it is sung in the hymns of Râma Prasâda, but it is clear that he makes it tolerable just because he throws aside all the magic and ritual of the Tantras and deals straight with what are for him elemental and emotional facts He makes even sceptics feel that he has really seen God in this strange guise

The chief sanctuary of Śāktism is at Kāmākhyâ (or Kāmākshâ) on a hill which stands on the banks of the Brahmaputra, about two miles below Gauhati It is mentioned in the Padma Purâna The temples have been rebuilt several times, and in the eighteenth century were munificently endowed by an Ahom king, and placed under the management of a Brahman from Nadia in Bengal, with reversion to his descendants who bear the title of Parbatîya Gosains Considerable estates are still assigned to their upkeep There are ten¹ shrines on the hill dedicated to various forms of the Śakti The situation is magnificent, commanding an extensive prospect over the Brahmaputra and the plains on either bank, but none of the buildings are of much architectural merit The largest and best is the temple dedicated to Kāmākhyâ herself, the goddess of sexual desire It is of the style usual in northern India, an unlighted shrine surmounted by a dome, and approached by a rather ample vestibule, which is also imperfectly lighted An inscription has been preserved recording the restoration of the temple about 1550 but only the present basement dates from that time, most of the superstructure being recent Europeans may not enter but an image of the goddess can be seen from a side door In the depths of the shrine is said to be a cleft in the rock, adored as the Yoni of Śakti In front of the temple are two posts to which a goat is tied, and decapitated daily at noon Below the principal shrine is the temple of Bhairavî Human sacrifices were offered here in comparatively recent times, and it is not denied that they would be offered now if the law allowed Also it is not denied

¹ So I was told, but I saw only six, when I visited the place in 1910

that the rites of the five mās already mentioned are frequently performed in these temples and that Aghoris may be found in them. The spot attracts a considerable number of pilgrims from Bengal and a wealthy devotee has built a villa on the hill and pays visits to it for the purpose of taking part in the rites. I was informed that the most esteemed scriptures of the sect are the *Yoginī Tantra*, the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* and the *Kālīkā Purāṇa*. This last work contains a section or chapter on blood¹ which gives rules for the performance of human sacrifices. It states however that they should not be performed by the first three castes which is perhaps a way of saying that though they may be performed by non-Aryans under Brahmanic auspices they form no part of the Aryan religion. But they are recommended to princes and ministers and should not be performed without the consent of princes. The ritual bears little resemblance to the Vedic sacrifices and the essence of the ceremony is the presentation to the goddess of the victim's severed head in a vessel of gold, silver, copper, brass or wood but not of iron. The axe with which the decapitation is to be performed is solemnly consecrated to Kālī and the victim is worshipped before immolation. The sacrificer first thinks of Brahman and the other gods as being present in the victim's body and then prays to him directly as being all the gods in one. When this has been done says Śiva who is represented as himself revealing these rules, the victim is even as myself. This identification of the human victim with the god has many analogies elsewhere particularly among the Khonds.²

It is remarkable that this barbarous and immoral worship though looked at askance except in its own holy places is by no means confined to the lower castes. A series of apologies composed in excellent English (but sometimes anonymous) attest the sympathy of the educated. So far as theology and metaphysics are concerned these defences are plausible. The Śakti is identified with Prakṛti or with the Māyā of the Advaita philosophy and defined as the energy coexistent with Brahman which creates the world. But attempts to palliate the ceremonial such as the argument that it is a consecration and limitation of the appetites because they may be gratified only in the service

¹ *Rudhīrādhyāya*. Translated in *As. Researches* v 1708, pp. 371-391.

² See Frazer *op. cit.* p. 240.

of the goddess, are not convincing. Nor do the Śâktas, when able to profess their faith openly, deny the nature of their rites or the importance attached to them. An oft-quoted tantric verse represents Śiva as saying *Marthunena mahâyogî mama tulyo na saṁśayah*. And for practical purposes that is the gist of Śâktist teaching.

The temples of Kâmâkhyâ leave a disagreeable impression, an impression of dark evil haunts of lust and bloodshed, akin to madness and unrelieved by any grace or vigour of art. For there is no attempt in them to represent the terrible or voluptuous aspects of Hinduism, such as find expression in sculpture elsewhere. All the buildings, and especially the modern temple of Kâlî, which was in process of construction when I saw the place, testify to the atrophy and paralysis produced by erotic forms of religion in the artistic and intellectual spheres, a phenomenon which finds another sad illustration in quite different theological surroundings among the Vallabhâcârya sect at Gokul near Muttra.

It would be a poor service to India to palliate the evils and extravagances of Śâktism, but still it must be made clear that it is not a mere survival of barbaric practices. The writers of the Tantras are good Hindus and declare that their object is to teach liberation and union with the Supreme Spirit. The ecstasies induced by tantric rites produce this here in a preliminary form to be made perfect in the liberated soul. This is not the craze of a few hysterical devotees, but the faith of millions among whom many are well educated. In some aspects Śâktism is similar to the erotic Vishnuite sects, but there is little real analogy in their ways of thinking. For the essence of Vishnuism is passionate devotion and self-surrender to a deity and this idea is not prominent in the Tantras. The strange inconsistencies of Śâktism are of the kind which are characteristic of Hinduism as a whole, but the contrasts are more violent and the monstrosities more conspicuous than elsewhere, wild legends and metaphysics are mixed together, and the peace that passes all understanding is to be obtained by orgies and offerings of blood.

CHAPTER XXXIII

HINDU PHILOSOPHY

1

PHILOSOPHY is more closely connected with religion in India than in Europe. It is not a dispassionate scientific investigation but a practical religious quest. Even the Nyāya school which is concerned chiefly with formal logic promises that by the removal of false knowledge it can emancipate the soul and give the bliss of salvation. Nor are the expressions *system* or *school* of philosophy commonly used to render *darśana* altogether happy. The word is derived from the root *drś* to see and means a way of looking at things. As such a way of looking is supposed to be both comprehensive and orderly, it is more or less what we call philosophical, but the points of view are so special and so various that the result is not always what we call a philosophical system. Mādhyama's¹ list of Darśanas includes Buddhism and Jainism which are commonly regarded as separate religions, as well as the Lāṅkāya and Śaiva which are sects of Hinduism. The Darśana of Jaimini is merely a discussion of general questions relating to sacrifices, the Nyāya Darśana examines logic and rhetoric, the Lāṅkāya Darśana treats of grammar and the nature of language, but claims that it ought to be studied as the means for attaining the chief end of man.²

Six of the Darśanas have received special prominence and are often called the six Orthodox Schools. They are the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya and Yoga, Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā.

¹ In the *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*, the best known compendium of Indian philosophy.

² J. C. Chatterji's definition of Indian philosophy (in his *Indian Realism*, p. 1) is interesting. "By Hindu philosophy I mean that branch of the ancient learning of the Hindus which demonstrates by reasoning propositions with regard to (a) what a man ought to do in order to get in true happiness, or (b) what he ought to realize by direct experience in order to be radically and absolutely freed from suffering and to be absolutely independent, such propositions being already given and lines of reasoning in their support being established by duly qualified authorities."

or Vedânta. The rest are either comparatively unimportant or are more conveniently treated of as religious sects. The six placed on the select list are sufficiently miscellaneous and one wonders what principle of classification can have brought them together. The first two have little connection with religion, though they put forward the emancipation of the soul as their object, and I have no space to discuss them. They are however important as showing that realism has a place in Indian thought in spite of its marked tendency to idealism¹. They are concerned chiefly with an examination of human faculties and the objects of knowledge, and are related to one another. The special doctrine of the Vaiśeṣika is the theory of atoms ascribed to Kanāda. It teaches that matter consists of atoms (*anu*) which are eternal in themselves though all combinations of them are liable to decompose. The Sāṅkhya and Yoga are also related and represent two aspects of the same system which is of great antiquity and allied to Buddhism and Jainism. The two Mīmāṃsās are consecutive expositions of the teaching scattered throughout the Vedic texts respecting ceremonial and the knowledge of God respectively. The second Mīmāṃsā, commonly called the Vedânta, is by far the more interesting and important.

The common feature in these six systems which constitutes their orthodoxy is that they all admit the authority of the Veda. This implies more than our phrases revelation or inspiration of the Bible. Most of the Darśanas attach importance to the *pramāṇas*, sources or standards of knowledge. They are variously enumerated, but one of the oldest definitions makes them three: perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*) and scripture (*śabda*). The Veda is thus formally acknowledged to have the same authority as the evidence of the senses. With this is generally coupled the doctrine that it is eternal. It was not composed by human authors, but is a body of sound existing from eternity as part of Brahman and breathed out by him when he causes the whole creation to evolve at the beginning of a world period. The reputed authors are simply those who have, in Indian language, seen portions of this self-existent teaching. This doctrine sounds more reasonable if restated in the form that words are the expression of thought, and that if thought is the eternal essence of both Brahman and the soul,

¹ See Chatterji's work above cited.

a similar eternity may attach to words. Some such idea is the origin of the Christian doctrine of the Logos and in many religions we find such notions as that words have a creative efficacy¹ or that he who knows the name of a thing has power over it. Among Mohammedans the Koran is supposed to be not merely an inspired composition but a pre-existing book revealed to Mohammed piecemeal.

It is curious that both the sacred texts—the Veda and the Koran—to which this supernatural position is ascribed should be collections of obviously human, incongruous and often insignificant documents connected with particular occasions and in no way suggesting or claiming that they are anterior to the ordinary life of man on earth. It is still more extraordinary that systems of philosophy should profess to base themselves on such works. But in reality Hindu metaphysicians are not more bound by the past than their colleagues in other lands. They do not take scripture and ask what it means but evolve their own systems and state that they are in accordance with it. Sometimes scripture is ignored in the details of argument. More often the metaphysician writes a commentary on it and boldly proves that it supports his views though its apparent meaning may be hostile. It is clear that many philosophic commentaries have been written not because the authors really drew their inspiration from the Upanishads or Bhagavad-gītā but because they dared not neglect such important texts. All the Vedāntist schools labour to prove that they are in harmony not only with the Upanishads but with the Brahma-sūtras. The philosophers of the Sāṅkhya are more detached from literature but though they ignore the existence of the deity they acknowledge the Veda as a source of knowledge. Their recognition however has the air of a concession to Brahmanic sentiment. Isolated theories of the Sāṅkhya can be supported by isolated passages of the Upanishads but no impartial critic can maintain that the general doctrines of the two are compatible. That the Brahmans should have been willing to admit the Sāṅkhya as a possible form of orthodoxy is a testimony both to its importance and to their liberality.

It is this idea which disposes educated Hindus to believe in the magical or sacramental power of mystic syllables and letters, though the use of such spells seems to Europeans incredible folly.

It is remarkable that the test of orthodoxy should have been the acceptance of the authority of the Veda and not a confession of some sort of theism. But on this the Brahmans did not insist. The Vedânta is truly and intensely pantheistic or theistic, but in the other philosophies the Supreme Being is either eliminated or plays a small part. Thus while works which seem to be merely scientific treatises (like the Nyâya) set before themselves a religious object, other treatises, seemingly religious in scope, ignore the deity. There is a strong and ancient line of thought in India which, basing itself on the doctrine of Karma, or the inevitable consequences of the deed once done, lays stress on the efficacy of ceremonies or of asceticism or of knowledge without reference to a Supreme Being because, if he exists, he does not interfere with the workings of Karma, or with the power of knowledge to release from them.

Even the Vedânta, although in a way the quintessence of Indian orthodoxy, is not a scholastic philosophy designed to support recognized dogma and ritual. It is rather the orthodox method of soaring above these things. It contemplates from a higher level the life of religious observances (which is the subject of the Pûrva Mîmâmsâ) and recognizes its value as a preliminary, but yet rejects it as inadequate. The Sannyâsi or adept follows no caste observances, performs no sacrifices, reads no scriptures. His religion is to realize in meditation the true nature, and it may be the identity, of the soul and God. Good works are of no more importance for him than rites, though he does well to employ his time in teaching. But Karma has ceased to exist for him. "the acts of a Yogi are neither black nor white," they have no moral quality nor consequences. This is dangerous language and the doctrine has sometimes been abused. But the point of the teaching is not that a Sannyâsi may do what he likes but that he is perfectly emancipated from material bondage. Most men are bound by their deeds, every new act brings consequences which attach the doer to the world of transmigration and create for him new existences. But the deeds of the man who is really free have no such trammelling effects, for they are not prompted by desire nor directed to an object. But since to become free he must have suppressed all desire, it is hardly conceivable that he should do anything which could be called a sin. But this conviction that the task of the

sage is not to perfect any form of good conduct but to rise above both good and evil imparts to the Darśanas and even to the Upanishads a singularly non-ethical and detached tone. The Yogi does no harm but he has less benevolence and active sympathy than the Buddhist monk. It was a feeling that such an attitude has its dangers and is only for the few who have fought their way to the heights where it can safely be adopted that led the Brahmans in all ages to lay stress on the householder's life as the proper preparation for a philosophic old age. Despite utterances to the contrary they never as a body approved the ideal of a life entirely devoted to asceticism and not occupied with social duties during one period. The extraordinary ease with which the higher phases of Indian thought shake off all formalities social, religious and ethical was counterbalanced by the multitudinous regulations devised to keep the majority in a law abiding life.

None of the six Darśanas concern themselves with ethics. The more important deal with the transcendental progress of sages who have avowedly abandoned the life of works and even those which treat of that lower life are occupied with ritual and logic rather than with anything which can be termed moral science. We must not infer that Indian literature is altogether unmoral. The doctrine of Karma is intensely ethical and ethical discussions are more prominent in the Epics than in Homer besides being the subject of much gnomic and didactic poetry. But there is no mistaking the fact that the Hindu seeks for salvation by knowledge. He feels the power of deeds but it is only the lower happiness which lies in doing good works and enjoying their fruits. The higher bliss consists in being entirely free from the bondage of deeds and Karma.

All the Darśanas have as a common principle this idea of Karma with the attendant doctrines that rebirth is a consequence of action and that salvation is an escape from rebirth. They all treat more or less of the sources and standards of knowledge and all recognize the Veda as one of them. There is not much more that can be said of them all in common for the Vedānta ignores matter and the Sāṅkhya ignores God but they all share a conviction which presents difficulties to Europeans. It is that the state in which the mind ceases to think discursively and is concentrated on itself is not only desirable but the *summum*

bonum The European is inclined to say that such a state is distinguished from non-existence only by not being permanent. But the Hindu will have none of this. He holds that mind and thought are material though composed of the subtlest matter, and that when thought ceases the immaterial soul (*purusha* or *âtman*) far from being practically non-existent is more truly existent than before and enjoys untroubled its own existence and its own nature.

Of the three most important systems the *Sâṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Vedânta* the first and last are on most points opposed both are ancient, but perhaps the products of different intellectual centres. In one sense the *Yoga* may be described as a theistic modification of the *Sâṅkhya* from another and perhaps juster point of view it appears rather as a very ancient science of asceticism and contemplation susceptible of combination with various metaphysical theories.

2

We may consider first of all the *Sâṅkhya*¹. Tradition ascribes its invention to *Kapila* but he is a mere name unconnected with any date or other circumstance. It is probable that the principal ideas of the *Sâṅkhya* germinated several centuries before our era but we have no evidence whatever as to when they were first formulated in *Sûtras*. The name was current as the designation of a philosophical system fairly early² but the accepted text-books are all late. The most respected is the *Sâṅkhya-pravacana*³, attributed to *Kapila* but generally assigned by European critics to the fourteenth century A.D. Considerably more ancient but still clearly a metrical epitome of a system already existing, is the *Sâṅkhya-Kārikā* a poem of seventy verses which was translated into Chinese about 560 A.D. and may be a few centuries older. Max Muller regarded the *Tattva-saṃsa*, a short tract consisting chiefly of an enumeration of

topics as the most ancient Sāṅkhya formulary but the opinion of scholars as to its age is not unanimous. The name Sāṅkhya is best interpreted as signifying enumeration in allusion to the predilection of the school for numbered lists a predilection equally noticeable in early Buddhism.

The object of the system set forth in these works is strictly practical. In the first words of the Sāṅkhya pravacana the complete cessation of suffering is the end of man and the Sāṅkhya is devised to enable him to attain it. Another formula divides the contents of the Sāṅkhya into four topics—(a) that from which man must liberate himself or suffering (b) liberation or the cessation of suffering (c) the cause of suffering or the failure to discriminate between the soul and matter (d) the means of liberation, or discriminating knowledge. This division obviously resembles the four Truths of Buddhism. The object proposed is the same and the method analogous though not identical for Buddhism speaks as a religion and lays greater stress on conduct.

The theory of the Sāṅkhya briefly stated is this. There exist uncreated and from all eternity on the one side matter and on the other individual souls. The world as we know it is due entirely to the evolution of matter. Suffering is the result of souls being in bondage to matter but this bondage does not affect the nature of the soul and in one sense is not real for when souls acquire discriminating knowledge and see that they are not matter then the bondage ceases and they attain to eternal peace.

The system is thus founded on dualism the eternal antithesis between matter and soul. Many of its details are comprised in the simple enumeration of the twenty five Tattvas or principles¹ as given in the Tattva-samāsa and other works. Of these one is Puruṣa the soul or self which is neither produced nor productive and the other twenty four are all modifications of Prakṛti or matter which is unproduced not productive. Prakṛti means the original ground form of external existence (as distinguished from Vikṛti modified form). It is uncreated and indestructible but it has a tendency to variation or evolu-

¹ Or topics. It is difficult to find any one English word which covers the twenty five tattvas, for they include both general and special ideas, mind and matter on the one hand; special organs on the other.

tion The Sâṅkhya holds in the strictest sense that *ex nihilo nihil fit* Substance can only be produced from substance and properly speaking there is no such thing as origination but only manifestation Causality is regarded solely from the point of view of material causes, that is to say the cause of a pot is clay and not the action of the potter Thus the effect or product is nothing else than the cause in another shape production is only manifestation and destruction is the resolution of a product into its cause Instead of holding like the Buddhists that there is no such thing as existence but only becoming, the Sâṅkhya rather affirms that there is nothing but successive manifestations of real existence If clay is made into a pot and the pot is then broken and ground into clay again, the essential fact is not that a pot has come into existence and disappeared but that the clay continuously existing has undergone certain changes

The tendency to evolution inherent in matter is due to the three *gunas* They are *sattva*, explained as goodness and happiness, *rajas*, as passion and movement, and *tamas*, as darkness, heaviness and ignorance The word Guna is not easy to translate, for it seems to mean more than quality or mode and to signify the constituents of matter Hence one cannot help feeling that the whole theory is an attempt to explain the unity and diversity of matter by a phrase, but all Hinduism is permeated by this phrase and theory When the three *gunas* are in equilibrium then matter Prakṛiti is quiescent, undifferentiated and unmanifested But as soon as the equilibrium is disturbed and one of the *gunas* becomes preponderant, then the process of differentiation and manifestation begins The disturbance of equilibrium is due to the action of the individual Purushas or souls on Prakṛiti, but this action is mechanical and due to proximity not to the volition of the souls and may be compared to the attraction of a magnet for iron¹ Thus at the beginning of the evolutionary process we have quiescent matter in equilibrium over against this are souls innumerable, equally quiescent but exerting on matter a mechanical force This upsets the equilibrium and creates a movement which takes at first the form of development and later of decay and collapse Then matter returns to its quiescent state to be again excited by the Purushas and commence its world-making evolution anew The

¹ Sâṅkh Pravac I 96

doctrine that evolution dissolution and quiescence succeed one another periodically is an integral part of the Sāṅkhya¹

The unmodified Prakṛiti stands first on the list of twenty five principles. When evolution begins it produces first Buddhi or intellect, secondly Ahankāra which is perhaps best rendered by individuality and next the five Tanmātras or subtle elements. Buddhi though meaning intellect is used rather in the sense of ascertaining or perception. It is the faculty by which we distinguish objects and perceive what they are. It differs also from our conception of intellect in being like Ahankāra and all the subsequent developments of Prakṛiti material and must not be confused with the immaterial Puruṣa or soul. It is in fact the organ of thought not in the sense of the brain or anything tangible but a subtle substratum of all mental processes. But in what sense is it possible to say that this Buddhi exists apart from individuals who have not come into being at this stage of cosmic evolution? This difficulty is not met by talking as some commentators do of cosmic as well as individual Buddhi for even if all Prakṛiti is illuminated by Buddhi at this stage it is difficult to see what result can occur. To make the process of development coherent we must think of it not as a series of chronologically successive stages but rather as a logically connected series and an analysis of completely evolved beings just as we might say that bones are covered with flesh and flesh with skin without affirming that the bones have a separate and prior existence. Ahankāra which is like Buddhi strictly speaking a physical organ means Ego-maker and denotes the sense of personality and individuality almost the will. In the language of Indian philosophy it is the delusion or misconception which makes the soul imagine itself a personal agent and think *I see I hear I slay I am slain*, whereas the soul is really incapable of action and the acts are those of Prakṛiti.

The five subtle elements are the essences of sound touch colour savour and odour conceived as physical principles imperceptible to ordinary beings, though gods and Yogis can perceive them. The name Tanmātra which signifies *that only* indicates that they are concerned exclusively with one sense

¹ Garbe *Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie*, p. 223. He considers that it spread thence to other schools. This involves the assumption that the Sāṅkhya is prior to Buddhism and J. Inam

Thus whereas the gross elements, such as earth, appeal to more than one sense and can be seen, felt and smelt, the subtle element of sound is restricted to the sense of hearing. It exists in all things audible but has nothing to do with their tangibility or visibility. There remain sixteen further modifications to make up the full list of twenty-four. They are the five organs of sense¹, the five organs of action², *Manas* or mind, regarded as a sixth and central sense, and also as the seat of will, and the five gross elements—earth, water, light, air and ether. The *Sânkhya* distinguishes between the gross and the subtle body. The latter, called *lingaśarîra*, is defined in more than one way, but it is expressly stated in the *Kârikâs*³ that it is composed of “*Buddhi* and the rest, down to the subtle elements” It practically corresponds to what we call the soul, though totally distinct from *Purusha* or soul in the *Sânkhya* sense. It constitutes the character and essential being of a person. It is the part which transmigrates from one gross body to another, and is responsible for the acts committed in each existence. Its union with a gross body constitutes birth, its departure death. Except in the case of those who attain emancipation, its existence and transmigration last for a whole world-period at the end of which come quiescence and equilibrium. In it are imprinted the *Samskâras*⁴, the predispositions which pass on from one existence to another and are latent in the new-born mind like seeds in a field.

By following the evolution of matter we have now accounted for intellect, individuality, the senses, the moral character, will, and a principle which survives death and transmigrates. It might therefore be supposed that we have exhaustively analysed the constitution of a human being. But that is not the view of the *Sânkhya*. The evolution of *Buddhi*, *Ahamkâra*, the subtle body and the gross body is a physical process and the result is also physical, though parts of it are of so fine a substance that ordinary senses cannot perceive them. This physical organism becomes a living being (which term includes gods and animals) when it is connected with a soul (*purusha*) and consciousness depends on this connection, for neither is matter when isolated conscious, nor is the soul, at least not in our sense of the word.

¹ Ears, skin, eyes, tongue and nose

² Voice, hands, feet, organs of excretion and generation

³ Verse 40

⁴ Cf. the Buddhist *Sankhâras*

Though the soul is neither the life which ends at death (for that is the gross body) nor yet the life which passes from existence to existence (for that is the subtle body) yet it is the vitalizing element which renders life possible

The Sāṅkhya like Jainism regards souls as innumerable and distinct from one another. The word Puruṣa must have originally referred to the manikin supposed to inhabit the body and there is some reason to think that the earliest teachers of the Sāṅkhya held that it was infinitely small. But in the existing text books it is described as infinitely large. It is immaterial and without beginning end parts dimensions or qualities incapable of change motion or action. These definitions may be partly due to the influence of the Vedānta and though we know little about the historical development of the Sāṅkhya there are traces of a compromise between the old teaching of a soul held in bondage and struggling for release and later conceptions of a soul which being infinite and passionless hardly seems capable of submitting to bondage. Though the soul cannot be said to transmigrate to act or to suffer still through consciousness it makes the suffering of the world felt and though in its essence it remains eternally unchanged and unaffected yet it experiences the reflection of the suffering which goes on. Just as a crystal (to use the Indian simile) allows a red flower to be seen through it and remains unchanged although it seems to become red so does the soul remain unchanged by sorrow or joy although the illusion that it suffers or rejoices may be present in the consciousness.

The task of the soul is to free itself from illusion and thus from bondage. For strictly speaking the bondage does not exist it is caused by want of discrimination. Like the Vedānta the Sāṅkhya regards all this troubled life as being so far as the soul is concerned mere illusion. But while the Vedānta bids the soul know its identity with Brahman the Sāṅkhya bids it isolate itself and know that the acts and feelings which seem to be its own have really nothing to do with it. They are for the soul nothing but a spectacle or play originating in its connection with Prakṛiti and it is actually said¹ Wherefore no soul is bound or is liberated or transmigrates. It is Prakṛiti, which has many bodily forms which is bound liberated and trans

¹ Sākh. Ka 62.

migrates " It is in Buddhi or intellect, which is a manifestation of Prakriti, that the knowledge of the difference between the soul and Prakriti must arise. Thus though the Sāṅkhya reposes on a fundamental dualism, it is not the dualism of good and evil. Soul and matter differ not because the first is good and the second bad, but because the first is unchangeable and the second constantly changing. Matter is often personified as a woman. Her motives are unselfish and she works for the liberation of the soul. "As a dancer after showing herself on the stage ceases to dance, so does Prakriti cease when she has made herself manifest to the soul." That is to say, when a soul once understands that it is distinct from the material world, that world ceases to exist for that particular soul, though of course the play continues for others. "Generous Prakriti, endowed with Gunas, causes by manifold means without benefit to herself, the benefit of the soul, which is devoid of Gunas and makes no return¹" The condition of the liberated soul, corresponding to the *mokṣha* and *nirvāṇa* of other systems, is described as Kaivalya, that is, complete separation from the material world, but, as among Buddhists and Vedāntists, he who has learnt the truth is liberated even before death, and can teach others. He goes on living, just as the wheel continues to revolve for some time after the potter has ceased to turn it. After death, complete liberation without the possibility of re-birth is attained. The Sāṅkhya manuals do not dwell further on the character of this liberation. We only know that the eternal soul is then completely isolated and aloof from all suffering and material things. Liberation is compared to profound sleep, the difference being that in dreamless sleep there is a seed, that is, the possibility of return to ordinary life, whereas when liberation is once attained there is no such return.

Both in its account of the world process and in its scheme of salvation the Sāṅkhya ignores theism in the same way as did the Buddha. Indeed the text-books go beyond this and practically deny the existence of a personal supreme deity. We are told² that the existence of God cannot be proved, for whatever exists must be either bound or free and God can be neither. We cannot think of him as bound and yet he cannot be free like an emancipated soul, for freedom implies the absence of desire and hence

¹ Sāṅkh Kār 59-61

² Sāṅkh Pravac I 92-95.

of the impulse to create. Similarly¹ the consequences of good and evil deeds are due to Karma and not to the government of God. Such a ruler is inconceivable for if he governs the world according to the action of Karma his existence is superfluous and if he is affected by selfish motives or desire then he cannot be free. It is true that these passages speak of there being no proof of God's existence and hence commentators both Indian and European who shrink from atheism represent the Sāṅkhya as suspending judgment. But if a republican constitution duly describes the President and other authorities in whom the powers of government are vested can we argue that it is not unmonarchical because it does not expressly say there is no king? In the Sāṅkhya there is no more place for a deity than for a king in a republican constitution. Moreover the Sūtras endeavour to prove that the idea of God is inconceivable and self-contradictory and some commentaries speak plainly on this subject². Thus the Sāṅkhya tattva-kaumudī commenting on Kārikā 57 argues that the world cannot have been created by God whether we suppose him to have been impelled by selfishness or kindness. For if God is perfect he can have no need to create a world. And if his motive is kindness is it reasonable to call into existence beings who while non-existent had no suffering simply in order to show kindness in relieving them from suffering? A benevolent deity ought to create only happy creatures, not a mixed world like the one we see³.

Arguments like this were not condemned by the Brahmins so strongly as we should expect, but they did not like them and though they did not excommunicate the Sāṅkhya in the same way as Buddhism they greatly preferred a theistic variety of it called Yoga.

The Yoga and Sāṅkhya are mentioned together in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad⁴ and the Bhagavad-gītā⁵ says that he sees truly who sees them as one. The difference lies in treatment

¹ Sāṅkh. Pravac. v 2-12.

Thus Sāṅkh. Pravac. v 46 says Tatkartuh puruṣasyābhāvāt and the commentary explains Īvara pratishthād it śeṣah "supply the words, because we deny that there is a supreme God."

Nevertheless the commentator Viśiṣṇa Bhikṣu (c. 1500) tries to explain away this atheism and to reconcile the Sāṅkhya with the Vedānta. See Garbe's preface to his edition of the Sāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya.

⁴ VI. 13.

⁵ v 5.

rather than in substance Whereas the Sâṅkhya is mainly theoretical, the principal topic of the Yoga is the cultivation of that frame of mind which leads to emancipation and the methods and exercises proper to this end Further, the Yoga recognizes a deity This distinction may seem of capital importance but the god of the Yoga (called Îśvara or the Lord) is not its foundation and essence as Brahman is of the Vedânta¹ Devotion to God is recognized as one among other methods for attaining emancipation and if this particular procedure, which is mentioned in relatively few passages, were omitted, the rest of the system would be unaffected It is therefore probable that the theistic portions of the Yoga are an addition made under Brahmanic influence But taking the existing Sûtras of the two philosophies, together with their commentaries, it may be said that the Yoga implies most of the Sâṅkhya theory and the Sâṅkhya most of the Yoga practice, for though it does not go into details it prescribes meditation which is to be perfected by regulating the breathing and by adopting certain postures I have already spoken of the methods and discipline prescribed by the Yoga and need not dwell further on the topic now

That Buddhism has some connection with the Sâṅkhya and Yoga has often been noticed² Some of the ideas found in the Sâṅkhya and some of the practices prescribed by the Yoga are clearly anterior to Gotama and may have contributed to his mental development, but circumspection is necessary in the use of words like Yoga, Sâṅkhya and Vedânta If we take them to mean the doctrinal systems contained in certain sûtras, they are clearly all later than Buddhism But if we assume, as we may safely do, that the doctrine is much older than the manuals in which we now study it, we must also remember that when we leave the texts we are not justified in thinking of a system but merely of a line of thought In this sense it is clear that many ideas of the Sâṅkhya appear among the Jains, but the Jains know nothing of the evolution of matter described by the Sâṅkhya manuals and think of the relation of the soul to matter

¹ Îśvara is apparently a puruṣa like others but greater in glory and untouched by human infirmities Yoga sûtras, I 24-26

² It is a singular fact that both the Sâṅkhya kârîkâ bhâṣhya and a treatise on the Vaiśeṣika philosophy are included in the Chinese Tripitaka (Nanjio, Cat Nos 1300 and 1295) A warning is however added that they are not "the law of the Buddha"

In a more materialistic way The notion of the separate eternal soul was the object of the Buddha's persistent polemics and was apparently a popular doctrine when he began preaching The ascetic and meditative exercises prescribed by the Yoga were also known before his time and the Pīṭakas do not hide the fact that he received instruction from two Yogis But though he was acquainted with the theories and practices which grew into the Yoga and Sāṅkhya, he did not found his religion on them for he rejected the idea of a soul which has to be delivered and did not make salvation dependent on the attainment of trances If there was in his time a systematic Sāṅkhya philosophy explaining the nature of suffering and the way of release it is strange that the Pīṭakas contain no criticism of it for though to us who see these ancient sects in perspective the resemblance of Buddhism to the Sāṅkhya is clear there can be little doubt that the Buddha would have regarded it as a most erroneous heresy because it proposes to attain the same objects as his own teaching but by different methods

Sāṅkhya ideas are not found in the oldest Upanishads but they appear (though not in a connected form) in those of the second stratum such as the Śvetāśvatara and Kathā It therefore seems probable though not proven that the origin of these ideas is to be sought not in the early Brahmanic schools but in the intellectual atmosphere non-theistic non-sacerdotal but audaciously speculative which prevailed in the central and eastern part of northern India in the sixth century B.C. The Sāṅkhya recognizes no merit in sacrifices or indeed in good works of any kind even as a preliminary discipline and in many details is un-Brahmanic Unlike the Vedānta Sūtras it does not exclude Śūdras from higher studies but states that there are eight classes of gods and five of animals but only one of men A teacher must have himself attained emancipation but there is no provision that he must be a Brahman Perhaps the fables and parables which form the basis of the fourth book of the Sāṅkhya Sūtras point to some more popular form of instruction similar to the discourses of the Buddha We may suppose that this ancient un-Brahmanic school took shape in several sects especially Jainism and Buddhism and used the Yoga discipline But the value and efficacy of that discipline were admitted almost universally and several centuries later it was

formulated in the Sûtras which bear the name of Patañjali in a shape acceptable to Brahmans, not to Buddhists. If, as some scholars think, the Yoga sûtras are not earlier than 450 A.D.¹ it seems probable that it was Buddhism which stimulated the Brahmans to codify the principles and practice of Yoga, for the Yogâcâra school of Buddhism arose before the fifth century. The Sâṅkhya is perhaps a somewhat similar brahmanization of the purely speculative ideas which may have prevailed in Magadha and Kosala.² Though these districts were not strongholds of Brahmanism, yet it is clear from the Pîtakas that they contained a considerable Brahman population who must have been influenced by the ideas current around them but also must have wished to keep in touch with other Brahmans. The Sâṅkhya of our manuals represents such an attempt at conciliation. It is an elaboration in a different shape of some of the ideas out of which Buddhism sprung but in its later history it is connected with Brahmanism rather than Buddhism. When it is set forth in Sûtras in a succinct and isolated form, its divergence from ordinary Brahmanic thought is striking and in this form it does not seem to have ever been influential and now is professed by only a few Pandits, but, when combined in a literary and eclectic spirit with other ideas which may be incompatible with it in strict logic, it has been a mighty influence in Indian religion, orthodox as well as unorthodox. Such conceptions as Prakṛiti and the Guṇas colour most of the post-Vedic religious literature. Their working may be plainly traced in the Mahâbhârata, Manu and the Purâṇas³, and the Tantras identify with Prakṛiti the goddesses whose worship they teach. The unethical character of the Sâṅkhya enabled it to form the strangest alliances with aboriginal beliefs.

¹ See Jacobi, *J A O S* Dec 1910, p 24. But if Vasubandhu lived about 280-360, as is now generally believed, allusions to the Yogâcâra school in the Yoga sûtras do not oblige us to place the sûtras much later than 300 A.D. since the Yogâcâra was founded by Asanga, the brother of Vasubandhu.

² I find it hard to accept Deussen's view (*Philosophy of the Upanishads*, chap. x) that the Sâṅkhya has grown out of the Vedânta.

³ See e.g. Vishṇu Purâṇa, I chaps 2, 4, 5. The Bhagavad gîtâ, though almost the New Testament of Vedântists, uses the words Sâṅkhya and Yoga in several passages as meaning speculative truth and the religious life and is concerned to show that they are the same. See II. 39, III 3, V 4, 5.

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Unlike the Sāṅkhya the Vedānta is seen in its most influential and perhaps most advantageous aspect when stated in its most abstract form. We need not enquire into its place of origin for it is clearly the final intellectual product of the schools which produced the Upanishads and the literature which preceded them and though it may be difficult to say at what point we are justified in applying the name Vedānta to growing Brahmanic thought, the growth is continuous. The name means simply End of the Veda. In its ideas the Vedānta shows great breadth and freedom yet it respects the prejudices and proprieties of Brahmanism. It teaches that God is all things but interdicts this knowledge to the lower castes; it treats rites as a merely preliminary discipline but it does not deny their value for certain states of life.

The Vedānta is the boldest and the most characteristic form of Indian thought. For Asia and perhaps for the world at large Buddhism is more important but on Indian soil it has been vanquished by the Vedānta especially that form of it known as the Advaita. In all ages the main idea of this philosophy has been the same and may be summed up in the formula that the soul is God and that God is everything. If this formula is not completely accurate¹—and a sentence which both translates and epitomizes alien metaphysics can hardly aspire to complete accuracy—the error lies in the fact to which I have called attention elsewhere that our words God and soul do not cover quite the same ground as the Indian words which they are used to translate.

Many scholars both Indian and European will demur to the high place here assigned to the Advaita philosophy. I am far from claiming that the doctrine of Śaṅkara is either primitive or unchallenged. Other forms of the Vedānta existed before him and became very strong after him. But so far as a synthesis of opinions which are divergent in details can be just he gives a just synthesis and elaboration of the Upanishads. It is true that his teaching as to the higher and lower Brahman and as to Māyā has affinities to Mahayanist Buddhism and that later sects were

¹ It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that there has been endless discussion as to the sense and manner in which the soul is God.

repelled by the severe and impersonal character of his philosophy, but the doctrine of which he is the most thorough and eminent exponent, namely that God or spirit is the only reality and one with the human soul, asserts itself in almost all Hindu sects, even though their other doctrines may seem to contradict it

This line of thought is so persistent and has so many ramifications, that it is hard to say what is and what is not Vedânta. If we take literature as our best guide we may distinguish four points of importance marked by the Upanishads, the Brahma-Sûtras, Śankara and Râmânuja.

I have said something elsewhere of the Upanishads. These works do not profess to form a systematic whole (though later Hinduism regards them as such) and when European scholars speak of them collectively, they generally mean the older members of the collection. These may justly be regarded as the ancestors of the Vedânta, inasmuch as the tone of thought prevalent in them is incipient Vedântism. It rejects dualism and regards the universe as a unity not as plurality, as something which has issued from Brahman or is pervaded by Brahman and in any case depends on Brahman for its significance and existence. Brahman is God in the pantheistic sense, totally disconnected with mythology and in most passages impersonal. The knowledge of Brahman is salvation: he who has it, goes to Brahman or becomes Brahman. More rarely we find statements of absolute identity such as "Being Brahman, he goes to Brahman"¹. But though the Upanishads say that the soul goes to or is Brahman, that the world comes from or is Brahman, that the soul is the whole universe and that a knowledge of these truths is the one thing of importance, these ideas are not combined into a system. They are simply the thoughts of the wise, not always agreeing in detail, and presented as independent utterances, each with its own value.

One of the most important of these wise men is Yâjñavalkya², the hero of the Brihad Âranyaka Upanishad and a great name, to whom are ascribed doctrines of which he probably never heard. The Upanishad represents him as developing and completing the views of Śândilya and Uddâlaka Âruni. The former taught³ that the Âtman or Self within the heart, smaller than

¹ Brihad Âran. iv. 4. 6, 1b. i. iv. 10. "I am Brahman."

² See above Book II. chaps. v and vi.

³ Chând. Up. iii. 14.

but the emphasis and direction of the thought are different. The Sâṅkhya looks at the world and says that salvation lies in escape into something which has nothing in common with it. But the Vedântist looks towards Brahman, and his pessimism is merely the feeling that everything which is not wholly and really Brahman is unsatisfactory. In the later developments of the system, pessimism almost disappears, for the existence of suffering is not the first Truth but an illusion. The soul, did it but know it, is Brahman and Brahman is bliss. So far as the Vedânta has any definite practical teaching, it does not wholly despise action. Action is indeed inferior to knowledge and when knowledge is once obtained works are useless accessories, but the four stages of a Brahman's career, including household life, are approved in the Vedânta Sûtras, though there is a disposition to say that he who has the necessary religious aptitudes can adopt the ascetic life at any time. The occupations of this ascetic life are meditation and absorption or samâdhi, the state in which the meditating soul becomes so completely blended with God on whom it meditates, that it has no consciousness of its separate existence¹

As indicated above the so-called books of Śruti or Vedic literature are not consecutive treatises, but rather *responsa prudentium*, utterances respecting ritual and theology ascribed to poets, sacrificers and philosophers who were accepted as authorities. When these works came to be regarded as an orderly revelation, even orthodoxy could not shut its eyes to their divergences, and a comprehensive exegesis became necessary to give a conspectus of the whole body of truth. This investigation of the meaning of the Veda as a connected whole is called Mîmâṃsâ, and is divided into two branches, the earlier (pûrva) and the later (uttara). The first is represented by the Pûrva-mîmâṃsâ-sûtras of Jaimini² which are called earlier (pûrva) not in the chronological sense but because they deal with rites which come before knowledge, as a preparatory stage. It is interesting to find that Jaimini was accused of atheism and defended by Kumârila Bhaṭṭa. The defence is probably just, for Jaimini does

¹ Maitrayana Brâh Upanishad, vi 20 "Having seen his own self as The Self he becomes selfless, and because he is selfless he is without limit, without cause, absorbed in thought."

² There is nothing to fix the date of this work except that Kumârila in commenting on it in the eighth century treats it as old and authoritative. It was perhaps composed in the early Gupta period.

not so much deny God as ignore him. But what is truly extraordinary, though characteristic of much Indian literature about ritual, is that a work dealing with the general theory of religious worship should treat the deity as an irrelevant tople. The *Pūrva mīmāṃsā* discusses ceremonies prescribed by an eternal self-existing Veda. The reward of sacrifice is not given by God. When the result of an act does not appear at once Jaimini teaches that there is all the same produced a super-sensuous principle called *apūrva* which bears fruit at a later time and thus a sacrifice leads the offerer to heaven. This theory is really tantamount to placing magic on a philosophic basis.

Bādarāyana's sūtras which represent the other branch of the *Mīmāṃsā* show a type of thought more advanced and profound than Jaimini's. They consist of 555 aphorisms—less than a fifth of Jaimini's voluminous work—and represent the outcome of considerable discussion posterior to the Upanishads for they cite the opinions of seven other teachers and also refer to *Bādarāyana* himself by name. Hence they may be a compendium of his teaching made by his pupils. Their date is unknown but *Śaṅkara* evidently regards them as ancient and there were several commentators before him¹. Like most *sūtras* these aphorisms are often obscure and are hardly intended to be more than a mnemotechnic summary of the doctrine to be supplemented by oral instruction or a commentary. Hence it is difficult to define the teaching of *Bādarāyana* as distinguished from that of the Upanishads on the one hand and that of his commentators on the other or to say exactly what stage he marks in the development of thought except that it is the stage of attempted synthesis². He teaches that Brahman is the origin of the world and that with him should all knowledge, religion and effort be concerned. By meditation on him the soul is released and somehow associated with him. But it is not clear that we have any warrant for finding in the *sūtras* (as does *Śaṅkara*) the distinction between the higher and lower Brahman or the doctrine of the unreality of the world (*Māyā*) or the absolute identity of the individual soul with Brahman. We are

¹ Keith in *J.R.A.S.* 1907 p. 492 says it is becoming more and more probable that *Bādarāyana* cannot be dated after the Christian era. Jacobi in *J.A.O.S.* 1911 p. 29 concludes that the Brahman-*sūtras* were composed between 200 and 450 A.D.

² Such attempts must have begun early. The *Maitrāyaṇa Upanishad* (ii. 3) talks of *Sarvopaniṣadvidyā*, the science of all the Upanishads.

told that the state of the released soul is non-separation (avibhâga) from Brahman, but this is variously explained by the commentators according to their views. Though the sūtras are the acknowledged text-book of Vedântism, their utterances are in practice less important than subsequent explanations of them. As often happens in India, the comment has overgrown and superseded the text.

The most important of these commentators is Śankarâcarya¹. Had he been a European philosopher anxious that his ideas should bear his name, or a reformer like the Buddha with little respect for antiquity, he would doubtless have taken his place in history as one of the most original teachers of Asia. But since his whole object was to revive the traditions of the past and suppress his originality by attempting to prove that his ideas are those of Bâdarâyana and the Upanishads, the magnitude of his contribution to Indian thought is often under-rated. We need not suppose that he was the inventor of all the ideas in his works of which we find no previous expression. He doubtless (like the Buddha) summarized and stereotyped an existing mode of thought but his summary bears the unmistakable mark of his own personality.

Śankara's teaching is known as Advaita or absolute monism. Nothing exists except the one existence called Brahman or Paramâtman, the Highest Self. Brahman is pure being and thought (the two being regarded as identical), without qualities. Brahman is not intelligent but is intelligence itself. The human soul (jîva) is identical with the Highest Self, not merely as a part of it, but as being itself the whole universal indivisible Brahman. This must not be misunderstood as a blasphemous assertion that man is equal to God. The soul is identical with Brahman only in so far as it forgets its separate human existence, and all that we call self and individuality. A man who has any pride in himself is *ipso facto* differentiated from Brahman as much as is possible. Yet in the world in which we move we see not only differentiation and multiplicity but also a plurality of individual souls apparently distinct from one another and from Brahman. This appearance is due to the principle of Mâyâ which is associated with Brahman and is the cause of the phenomenal world. If Mâyâ is translated by illusion it must

¹ See above, p. 207 ff.

tion is of great importance, for it enables him to reconcile passages in the scriptures which otherwise are contradictory. Worship and meditation which make *Īśvara* their object do not lead directly to emancipation. They lead to the heavenly world of *Īśvara*, in which the soul, though glorified, is still a separate individual existence. But for him who meditates on the Highest Brahman and knows that his true self is that Brahman, *Mâyâ* and its works cease to exist. When he dies nothing differentiates him from that Brahman who alone is bliss and no new individual existence arises.

The crux of this doctrine is in the theory of *Mâyâ*. If *Mâyâ* appertains to Brahman, if it exists by his will, then why is it an evil, why is release to be desired? Ought not the individual souls to serve Brahman's purpose, and would not it be better served by living gladly in the phenomenal world than by passing beyond it? But such an idea has rarely satisfied Indian thinkers. If, on the other hand, *Mâyâ* is an evil or at least an imperfection, if it is like rust on a blade or dimness in a mirror, if, so to speak, the edges of Brahman are weak and break into fragments which are prevented by their own feebleness from realizing the unity of the whole, then the mind wonders uneasily if, in spite of all assurances to the contrary, this does not imply that Brahman is subject to some external law, to some even more mysterious Beyond. But Śāṅkara and the *Brahma-sūtras* will not tolerate such doubts. According to them, Brahman in making the world is not actuated by a motive in the ordinary sense, for that would imply human action and passion, but by a sportive impulse¹. "We see in every-day life," says Śāṅkara, "that certain doings of princes, who have no desires left unfulfilled, have no reference to any extraneous purpose but proceed from mere sportfulness. We further see that the process of inhalation and exhalation is going on without reference to any extraneous purpose, merely following the law of its own nature. Analogously, the activity of the Lord also may be supposed to be mere sport, proceeding from his own nature without reference to any purpose²." This

¹ Vedānta sūtras, II. 1. 32-3, and Śāṅkaras's commentary, *S B E* vol. XXXIV pp. 356-7. Rāmānuja holds a similar view and it is very common in India, e.g. *Vishnu Pur.* 1. chap. 2.

² See too a remarkable passage in his comment on *Brahma sūtras*, II. 1. 23. "As soon as the consciousness of non-difference arises in us, the transmigratory state of the individual soul and the creative quality of Brahman vanish at once,

is no worse than many other explanations of the scheme of things and the origin of evil but it is not really an explanation. It means that the Advaita is so engrossed in ecstatic contemplation of the omnipresent Brahman that it pays no attention to a mere by product like the physical universe. How or why that universe with all its imperfections comes to exist it does not explain.

Yet the boldness and ample sweep of Śaṅkara's thought have in them something greater than logic¹ something recalling the grandeur of plains and seas limited only by the horizon nay rather those abysses of space wherein on clear nights worlds and suns innumerable are scattered like sparks by what he would call God's playfulness. European thought attains to these altitudes but cannot live in them for long it demands and fancies for itself just what Śaṅkara will not grant the motive of Brahman the idea that he is working for some consummation not that he was is and will be eternally complete unaffected by the drama of the universe and yet identical with souls that know him.

Even in India the austere and impersonal character of Śaṅkara's system provoked dissent. He was accused of being a Buddhist in disguise and the accusation raises an interesting question² in the history of Indian philosophy to which I have referred in a previous chapter. The affinity existing between the Mādhyamika form of Buddhist metaphysics and the earlier Vedānta can hardly be disputed and the only question is which borrowed from the other. Such questions are exceedingly difficult to decide for from time to time new ideas arose in India permeated the common intellectual atmosphere and were worked up by all sects into the forms that suited each best. In the present instance all that can be said is that certain ideas about the unreality of the world and about absolute and relative

"the whole phenomenon of plurality which springs from wrong knowledge being sublated by perfect knowledge and what becomes then of the creation and the faults of not doing what is beneficial and the like?"

¹ Although Śaṅkara's commentary is a piece of severe rationalism, especially in its controversial parts, yet he holds that the knowledge of Brahman depends not on reasoning but on scripture and intuition. "The presentation before the mind of the Highest Self is effected by meditation and devotion. Brah. Sut. III. 2. 24. See too his comments on I. 1. 2 and II. 1. 11.

² See Sukthankar *Teachings of Vedānta according to Rāmānuja*, pp. 17-19 W. 11. *Der selbstere Vedānta*, and De la Vallée Poussin in *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 129.

truth appear in several treatises both Brahmanic and Buddhist, such as the works of Śankara and Nāgârjuna and the Gaudapâdakârikâs, and of these the works attributed to Nāgârjuna seem to be the oldest. It must also be remembered that according to Chinese accounts Bodhidharma preached at Nanking in 520 a doctrine very similar to the *advaita* of Śankara though expressed in Buddhist phraseology.

Of other forms of Vedântism, the best known is the system of Râmânûja generally called Viśishtâdvaita¹. It is an evidence of the position held by the Vedânta philosophy that religious leaders made a commentary on the Sûtras of Bâdarâyana the vehicle of their most important views. Unlike Śankara, Râmânûja is sectarian and identifies his supreme deity with Vishnu or Nârâyana, but this is little more than a matter of nomenclature. His interpretation is modern in the sense that it pursues the line of thought which leads up to the modern sects. But that line of thought has ancient roots. Râmânûja followed a commentator named Bodhâyana who was anterior to Śankara, and in the opinion of so competent a judge as Thibaut he gives the meaning of Bâdarâyana in many points more exactly than his great rival. On the other hand his interpretation often strains the most important utterances of the Upanishads.

Râmânûja admits no distinction between Brahman and Îśvara, but the distinction is abolished at the expense of abolishing the idea of the Higher Brahman, for his Brahman is practically the Îśvara of Śankara. Brahman is not without attributes but possessed of all imaginable good attributes, and though nothing exists apart from him, like the antithesis of *purusha* and *prakṛti* in the Sâṅkhya, yet the world is not as in Śankara's system merely Mâyâ. Matter and souls (*cit* and *acit*) form the body of Brahman who both comprises and pervades

¹ This term is generally rendered by qualified, that is not absolute, Monism. But South Indian scholars give a slightly different explanation and maintain that it is equivalent to *Viśishtayor advaitam* or the identity of the two qualified (*viśiṣṭa*) conditions of Brahman. Brahman is qualified by *cit* and *acit*, souls and matter, which stand to him in the relation of attributes. The two conditions are *Kâryāvasthâ* or period of cosmic manifestation in which *cit* and *acit* are manifest and *Karanâvasthâ* or period of cosmic dissolution, when they exist only in a subtle state within Brahman. These two conditions are not different (*advaitam*). See Śrinivas Iyengar, *J R A S* 1912, p. 1073 and also *Sri Râmânujâcârya His Philosophy* by Rajagopalacharyar.

all things which are merely modes of his existence¹. He is the inner ruler (antaryāmin) who is in all elements and all human souls². The texts which speak of Brahman as being one only without a second are explained as referring to the state of pralaya or absorption which occurs at the end of each Kalpa. At the conclusion of the period of pralaya he re-emits the world and individual souls by an act of volition and the souls begin the round of transmigration. Salvation or release from this round is obtained not by good works but by knowledge and meditation on the Lord assisted by his grace. The released soul is not identified with the Lord but enjoys near him a personal existence of eternal bliss and peace. This is more like European theism than the other doctrines which we have been considering. The difference is that God is not regarded as the creator of matter and souls. Matter and souls consist of his substance. But for all that he is a personal deity who can be loved and worshipped and whereas Śāṅkara was a religious philosopher Rāmānuja was rather a philosophic theologian and founder of a church. I have already spoken of his activity in this sphere.

4

The epics and Purāṇas contain philosophical discussions of considerable length which make little attempt at consistency. Yet the line of thought in them all is the same. The chief tenets of the theistic Śāṅkhya-Yoga are assumed: matter, soul and God are separate existences; the soul wishes to move towards God and away from matter. Yet when Indian writers glorify the deity they rarely abstain from identifying him with the universe. In the Bhagavad-gītā and other philosophical cantos of the Mahābhārata the contradiction is usually left without an attempt at solution. Thus it is stated categorically³ that the world consists of the perishable and imperishable: *i. e.* matter and soul, but that the supreme spirit is distinct from both.

¹ Compare the phrase of Keats in a letter quoted by Bosanquet, *Gifford Lectures for 1912*, p. 66. "As various as the lives of men are, so various become their souls and thus does God make individual beings, souls, identical souls of the sparks of his own one."

This tenet is justified by Brihad Araṇ. Up. III. 8 ff. which is a great text for Rāmānuja's school. He who dwells in the earth (water etc.) and within the earth (or is different from the earth) whom the earth knows not, whose body the earth is, who rules the earth within, he is thyself the ruler within, the immortal."

² Bhag.-gītā, xv 16, 17.

Yet in the same poem we pass from this antithesis to the monism which declares that the deity is all things and "the self seated in the heart of man" We have then attained the Vedantist point of view Nearly all the modern sects, whether Śivaite or Vishnuite, admit the same contradiction into their teaching, for they reject both the atheism of the Sāṅkhya and the immaterialism of the Advaita (since it is impossible for a practical religion to deny the existence of either God or the world), while the irresistible tendency of Indian thought makes them describe their deity in pantheistic language All strive to find some metaphysical or theological formula which will reconcile these discrepant ideas, and nearly all Vishnuites profess some special variety of the Vedānta called by such names as Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaitādvaita, Śuddhādvaita and so on They differ chiefly in their definition of the relation existing between the soul and God Only the Mādhvas entirely discard monism and profess duality (Dvaita) and even Madhva thought it necessary to write a commentary on the Brahma-sūtras to prove that they support his doctrine and the Śivaïtes too have a commentator, Nīlakantha, who interprets them in harmony with the Śaiva Siddhānta There is also a modern commentary by Somanaradītyar which expounds this much twisted text agreeably to the doctrines of the Lingāyat sect

In most fundamental principles the Śivaite and Śāktist schools agree with the Viśiṣṭādvaita but their nomenclature is different and their scope is theological rather than philosophical In all of them are felt the two tendencies, one wishing to distinguish God, soul and matter and to adjust their relations for the purposes of practical religion, the other holding more or less that God is all or at least that all things come from God and return to him But there is one difference between the schools of sectarian philosophy and the Advaita of Śaṅkara which goes to the root of the matter Śaṅkara holds that the world and individual existences are due to illusion, ignorance and misconception they vanish in the light of true knowledge Other schools, while agreeing that in some sense God is all, yet hold that the universe is not an illusion or false presentment of him but a process of manifestation or of evolution starting from him¹ It is not precisely evolution in the European sense, but rather

¹ The two doctrines are called *Vivartavāda* and *Parīṇāmavāda*

a rhythmic movement of duration and extent inexpressible in figures in which the Supreme Spirit alternately emits and re-absorbs the universe. As a rule the higher religious life aims at some form of union or close association with the deity beyond the sphere of this process. In the evolutionary process the Vaiṣṇavas interpolate between the Supreme Spirit and the phenomenal world the phases of conditioned spirit known as Saṅkarṣhana etc. in the same way the Śivaite schools increase the twenty four *tattvas* of the Sāṅkhya to thirty-six¹. The first of these *tattvas* or principles is Śiva corresponding to the highest Brahman. The next phase is Sadāśiva in which differentiation commences owing to the movement of Śakti the active or female principle. Śiva in this phase is thought of as having a body composed of *mantras*. Śakti also known as Bindu or Śuddhamāyā is sometimes regarded as a separate *tattva* but more generally as inseparably united with Śiva. The third *tattva* is Īśvara or Śiva in the form of a lord or personal deity and the fourth is Śuddhavidyā or true knowledge explained as the principle of correlation between the experiencer and that which is experienced. It is only after these that we come to Māyā meaning not so much illusion as the substratum in which Karma inheres or the protoplasm from which all things grow. Between Māyā and Puruṣa come five more *tattvas* called envelopes. Their effect is to enclose and limit thus turning the divine spirit into a human soul.

Śāktist accounts of the evolutionary process give greater prominence to the part played by Śakti and are usually metaphysical if the word may be pardoned, inasmuch as they regard the cosmic process as the growth of an embryo an idea which is as old as the Vedas². It is impossible to describe even in outline these manifold cosmologies but they generally speak of Śakti, who in one sense is identical with Śiva and merely his active form but in another sense is identified with Prakṛti coming into contact with the form of Śiva called Prakāśa or light and then solidifying into a drop (Bindu) or germ which divides. At some point in this process arise Nāda or sound, and

¹ These are only the more subtle *tattvas*. There are also 60 gross ones. See for the whole subject Schommerus *Der Śaiva-Siddhānta*, p. 129.

It also finds expression in myths about the division of the deity into male and female halves, the cosmic egg, etc., which are found in all strata of Indian literature.

Śabda-brahman, the sound-Brahman, which manifests itself in various energies and assumes in the human body the form of the mysterious coiled force called Kūṇḍalinî¹ Some of the older Viṣṇuite writings use similar language of Śakti, under the name of Lakshmî, but in the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja and subsequent teachers there is little disposition to dwell on any feminine energy in discussing the process of evolution

Of all the Darśanas the most extraordinary is that called Raseśvara or the mercurial system² According to it quicksilver, if eaten or otherwise applied, not only preserves the body from decay but delivers from transmigration the soul which inhabits this glorified body Quicksilver is even asserted to be identical with the supreme self This curious Darśana is represented as revealed by Śiva to Śakti and it is only an extreme example of the tantric doctrine that spiritual results can be obtained by physical means The practice of taking mercury to secure health and long life must have been prevalent in medieval India for it is mentioned by both Marco Polo and Bernier³

5

A people among whom the Vedānta could obtain a large following must have been prone to think little of the things which we see compared with the unseen of which they are the manifestation It is, therefore, not surprising if materialism met with small sympathy or success among them In India the extravagances of asceticism and of mystic sensualism alike find devotees, but the simple philosophy of Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die, does not commend itself Nevertheless it is not wholly absent and was known as the doctrine of Brihaspati Those who professed it were also called Cārvākas and Lokāyatikas⁴ Brihaspati was the preceptor of the gods and his

¹ An account of tantric cosmology can be found in Avalon, *Mahān Tantra*, pp xix-xxx. See also Avalon, *Prapañcasāra Tantra*, pp 5 ff. Śrīnivāsa Iyengar, *Indian Philosophy*, pp 143 and 295 ff, Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇ and Śaivism*, pp 145 ff

² Sarva darśana sangraha, chap ix For this doctrine in China see Wiegner *Histoire des Croyances religieuses en Chine*, p 411

³ See Yule's *Marco Polo*, II pp 365, 369

⁴ See Rhys Davids' note in his *Dialogues of the Buddha on Dīgha Nikāya*, Sutta v pp 166 ff He seems to show that Lokāyata meant originally natural philosophy as a part of a Brahman's education and only gradually acquired a bad meaning The Arthasāstra also recommends the Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata systems

be merely theological animus, but still it is possible that there may be a connection between the Cârvăkas and the extreme forms of Mahayanist nihilism Schrader¹ in analysing a singular work, called the Svasamvedyopanishad, says it is "inspired by the Mahâyânist doctrine of vacuity (*śūnya-vāda*) and proclaims a most radical agnosticism by asserting in four chapters (a) that there is no reincarnation (existence being bubble-like), no God, no world that all traditional literature (*Śruti* and *Smṛiti*) is the work of conceited fools, (b) that Time the destroyer and Nature the originator are the rulers of all existence and not good and bad deeds, and that there is neither hell nor heaven, (c) that people deluded by flowery speech cling to gods, sacred places, teachers, though there is in reality no difference at all between Vishnu and a dog, (d) that though all words are untrue and all ideas mere illusions, yet liberation is possible by a thorough realization of *Bhāvādvaita* " But for this rather sudden concession to Hindu sentiment, namely that deliverance is possible, this doctrine resembles the tenets attributed to the Cârvăkas

¹ *Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library*, 1908, pp 300-1

interest during the Buddha's lifetime yet in the Pitakas the discussion, though it could not be stifled, is relegated to the background and brought forward only to be put aside as unpractical. The greatest teachers of religion—Christ as well as Buddha—have shown little disposition to speak of what follows on death. For them the centre of gravity is on this side of the grave not on the other: the all-important thing is to live a religious life, at the end of which death is met fearlessly as an incident of little moment. The Kingdom of Heaven, of which Christ speaks, begins on earth though it may end elsewhere. In the Gospels we hear something of the second coming of Christ and the Judgment: hardly anything of the place and character of the soul's eternal life. We only gather that a child of God who has done his best need have no apprehension in this or another world. Though expressed in very different phraseology, something like that is the gist of what the Buddha teaches about the dying Saint. But this reticent attitude did not satisfy ancient India any more than it satisfies modern Europe and we have the record of how he was questioned and what he said in reply. Within certain limits that reply is quite definite. The question, does the Tathâgata, that is the Buddha or perfected saint, exist after death, which is the phraseology usually employed by the Pitakas in formulating the problem, belongs to the class of questions called not declared or undetermined¹, because they do not admit of either an affirmative or a negative answer. Other problems belonging to this class are: Is the world eternal or not? Is the world infinite or not? Is the soul² the same as the body or different from it? It is categorically asserted that none of these questions admit of a reply: thus it is not right to say that (a) the saint exists after death, (b) or that he does not exist, (c) or that he both does and does not exist, (d) or that he neither exists nor does not exist. The Buddha's teaching about these problems is stated with great clearness in a Sutta named after Mâlunkya-putta³, an enquirer who visits him and after enumerating them says frankly that he is dissatisfied because the Buddha will not

¹ *Avyâkatâni*. The Buddha, being omniscient, *sabbaññu*, must have known the answer but did not declare it, perhaps because language was incapable of expressing it.

² *Jîva* not *attâ*.

³ *Maj. Nik.* 63.

answer them. If the Lord answers them I will lead a religious life under him but if he does not answer them I will give up religion and return to the world. But if the Lord does not know then the straightforward thing is to say 'I do not know.' This is plain speaking almost discourtesy. The Buddha's reply is equally plain but unyielding. Have I said to you, come and be my disciple and I will teach you whether the world is eternal or not infinite or not whether the soul is identical with the body or separate whether the saint exists after death or not? No, Lord. 'Now suppose a man were wounded by a poisoned arrow and his friends called in a physician to dress his wound. What if the man were to say 'I shall not have my wound treated until I know what was the caste the family the dwelling place the complexion and stature of the man who wounded me nor shall I let the arrow be drawn out until I know what is the exact shape of the arrow and bow and what were the animals and plants which supplied the feathers, leather shaft and string. The man would never learn all that, because he would die first. Therefore is the conclusion hold what I have determined as determined and what I have not determined as not determined.'

This sutta may be taken in connection with passages asserting that the Buddha knows more than he tells his disciples. The result seems to be that there are certain questions which the human mind and human language had better leave alone because we are incapable of taking or expressing a view sufficiently large to be correct, but that the Buddha has a more than human knowledge which he does not impart because it is not profitable and overstrains the faculties just as it is no part of a cure that the patient should make an exhaustive study of his disease.

With reference to the special question of the existence of the saint after death the story of Yamaka¹ is important. He maintained that a monk in whom evil is destroyed (*khināsavō*) is annihilated when he dies and does not exist. This was considered a grave heresy and refuted by Sānputta who argues that even in this life the nature of a saint passes understanding because he is neither all the *akandhas* taken together nor yet one or more of them.

Yet it would seem that according to the psychology of the Pīṭakas an ordinary human being is an aggregate of the skandhas and nothing more. When such a being dies and in popular language is born again, the skandhas reconstitute themselves but it is expressly stated that when the saint dies this does not happen. The Chain of Causation says that consciousness and the sankhâras are interdependent. If there is no rebirth, it is because (as it would seem) there are in the dying saint no sankhâras. His nature cannot be formulated in the same terms as the nature of an ordinary man. It may be noted that karma is not equivalent to the effect produced on the world by a man's words and deeds, for if that were so, no one would have died leaving more karma behind him than the Buddha himself, yet according to Hindu doctrine, whether Buddhist or Brahmanic, no karma attaches to the deeds of a saint. His acts may affect others but there is nothing in them which tends to create a new existence.

In another dialogue¹ the Buddha replies to a wandering monk called Vaccha who questioned him about the undetermined problems and in answer to every solution suggested says that he does not hold that view. Vaccha asks what objection he has to these theories that he has not adopted any of them?

"Vaccha, the theory that the saint exists (or does not exist and so on) after death is a jungle, a desert, a puppet show, a writhing, an entanglement and brings with it sorrow, anger, wrangling and agony. It does not conduce to distaste for the world, to the absence of passion, to the cessation of evil, to peace, to knowledge, to perfect enlightenment, to nirvana. Perceiving this objection, I have not adopted any of these theories." "Then has Gotama any theory of his own?" "Vaccha, the Tathâgata has nothing to do with theories, but this is what he knows: the nature of form, how form arises, how form perishes; the nature of perception, how it arises and how it perishes (and so on with the other skandhas). Therefore I say that the Tathâgata is emancipated because he has completely and entirely abandoned all imaginations, agitations and false notions about the Ego and anything pertaining to the Ego." But, asks Vaccha, when one who has attained this

the same When combustion ceases, the fire goes out in popular language To what quarter does it go? That question clearly does not "fit the case" But neither does it fit the case to say that the fire is annihilated¹.

Nirvana is the cessation of a process not the annihilation of an existence If I take a walk, nothing is annihilated when the walk comes to an end a particular form of action has ceased Strictly speaking the case of a fire is the same when it goes out a process ceases For the ordinary man nirvana is annihilation in the sense that it is the absence of all the activities which he considers desirable But for the arhat (who is the only person able to judge) nirvana after death, as compared with nirvana in life, may be quiescence and suspension of activity, only that such phrases seem to imply that activity is the right and normal condition, quiescence being negative and unnatural, whereas for an arhat these values are reversed

We may use too the parallel metaphor of water A wave cannot become an immortal personality It may have an indefinitely long existence as it moves across the ocean, although both its shape and substance are constantly changing, and when it breaks against an obstacle the resultant motion may form new waves And if a wave ceases to struggle for individual existence and differentiation from the surrounding sea, it cannot be said to exist any more as a wave Yet neither the water which was its substance nor the motion which impelled it have been annihilated It is not even quite correct to say that it has been merged in the sea A drop of water added to a larger liquid mass is merged The wave simply ceases to be active and differentiated

In the Samyutta-Nikâya² the Buddha's statement that the saint after death is deep and immeasurable like the ocean is expanded by significant illustration of the mathematician's inability to number the sand or express the sea in terms of

¹ It may be that the Buddha had in his mind the idea that a flame which goes out returns to the primitive invisible state of fire This view is advocated by Schrader (*Jour. Pal. Text Soc.* 1905, p. 167) The passages which he cites seem to me to show that there was supposed to be such an invisible store from which fire is born but to be less conclusive as proving that fire which goes out is supposed to return to that store, though the quotation from the Maitreyî Up. points in this direction. For the metaphor of the flame see also Sutta-Nipâta, verses 1074-6

² XLIV 1

liquid measure. It is in fact implied that if we cannot say *he is*, this is only because that word cannot properly be applied to the infinite innumerable and immeasurable.

The point which is clearest in the Buddha's treatment of this question is that whatever his disciples may have thought he did not himself consider it of importance for true religion. Speculation on such points may be interesting to the intellect but is not edifying. It is a jungle where the traveller wanders without advancing, and a puppet-show a vain worldly amusement which wears a false appearance of religion because it is diverting itself with quasi religious problems. What is the state of the saint after death is not as people vainly suppose a question parallel to am I going to heaven or hell, what shall I do to be saved? To those questions the Buddha gives but one answer in terms of human language and human thought namely attain to nirvana and arhatship on this side of death if possible in your present existence if not now then in the future good existences which you can fashion for yourself. What lies beyond is impracticable as a goal unprofitable as a subject of speculation. We shall probably not be transgressing the limits of Gotama's thought if we add that those who are not arhats are bound to approach the question with misconception and it is a necessary part of an Arhat's training to get rid of the idea *I am*¹. The state of a Saint after death cannot be legitimately described in language which suggests that it is a fuller and deeper mode of life². Yet it is clear that nearly all who dispute about it wish to make out that it is a state they could somehow regard with active satisfaction. In technical language they are infected with *arūparāgo* or desire for life in a formless world, and this is the seventh of the ten fetters all of which must be broken before arhatship is attained. I imagine that those modern sects such as the Zen in Japan which hold that the deepest mysteries of the faith cannot be communicated in words but somehow grow clear in meditation are not far from the master's teaching though to the best of my belief no passage has been produced from the Pitakas stating that an arhat has special knowledge about the *avyākataṃ* or undetermined questions.

¹ Maj. Nik. 9 ad. eva. *Assmāṃ dīṭṭhīm ānāpāyāya samūphanissā.*

² See especially *Sutta Nipāta*, 1076 *Atthān gataṃ na paṇāpāya atthi*, etc.

Almost all who treat of nirvana after death try to make the Buddha say, is or is not That is what he refused to do We still want a plain answer to a plain question and insist that he really means either that the saint is annihilated or enters on an infinite existence But the true analogues to this question are the other insoluble questions, for instance, is the world infinite or finite in space? This is in form a simple physical problem, yet it is impossible for the mind to conceive either an infinite world or a world stopping abruptly with not even space beyond A common answer to this antinomy is that the mind is attempting to deal with a subject with which it is incompetent to deal, that the question is wrongly formulated and that every answer to it thus formulated must be wrong The way of truth lies in first finding the true question The real difficulty of the Buddha's teaching, though it does not stimulate curiosity so much as the question of life after death, is the nature and being of the saint in this life before death, raised in the argument with Yamaka¹.

Another reason for not pressing the Buddha's language in either direction is that, if he had wished to preach in the subtlest form either infinite life or annihilation, he would have found minds accustomed to the ideas and a vocabulary ready for his use If he had wished to indicate any form of absorption into a universal soul, or the acquisition by the individual self of the knowledge that it is identical with the universal self, he could easily have done so But he studiously avoided saying anything of the kind He teaches that all existence involves suffering and he preaches escape from it After that escape the words being and not being no longer apply, and the reason why some people adopt the false idea of annihilation is because they have commenced by adopting the false alternative of either annihilation or an eternal prolongation of this life A man makes² himself miserable because he thinks he has lost something or that there is something which he cannot get But if he does not think he has lost something or is deprived of something he might have, then he does not feel miserable Similarly, a man holds the erroneous opinion, "This world is the self, or soul and I shall become it after death and be eternal, and unchanging" Then he hears the preaching of a Buddha and he thinks "I shall be annihilated, I shall not exist any more," and he feels

¹ Sam Nik. xxii 85

² Maj Nik. 22, Alagaddûpama sutta

miserable. But if a man does not hold this doctrine that the soul is identical with the universe and will exist eternally—which is just complete full blown folly¹—and then hears the preaching of a Buddha it does not occur to him to think that he will be annihilated and he is not miserable. Here the Buddha emphasizes the fact that his teaching is not a variety of the Brahmanic doctrine about the Ātman. Shortly afterwards in the same sutta he even more emphatically says that he does not teach annihilation. He teaches that the saint is already in this life inconceivable (*anansreyyo*). And when I teach and explain this some accuse me falsely and without the smallest ground² saying Gotama is an unbeliever, he preaches the annihilation, the destruction, the dying out of real being. When they talk like this they accuse me of being what I am not of saying what I do not say."

Though the Buddha seems to condemn by anticipation the form of the Vedānta known as the Advaita, this philosophy illustrates the difficulty of making any statement about the saint after his death. For it teaches that the saint knows that there is but one reality, namely Brahman, and that all individual existences are illusion. He is aware that he is Brahman and that he is not differentiated from the world around him. And when he dies, what happens? Metaphors about drops and rivers are not really to the point. It would be more correct to say that nothing at all has happened. His physical life, an illusion which did not exist for himself, has ceased to exist for others.

Perhaps he will be nearest to the Buddha's train of thought who attempts to consider by reflection rather than by discussion in words what is meant by annihilation. By thinking of the mystery of existence and realizing how difficult it is to explain how and why anything exists, we are apt to slip into thinking that it would be quite natural and intelligible if nothing existed or if existing things became nothing. Yet as a matter of fact our minds have no experience of this nothing of which we talk and it is inconceivable. When we try to think of nothingness we really think of space from which we try to remove all content yet could we create an absolute vacuum within a vessel, the interior of the vessel would not be annihilated. The man who

¹ Later in the same Sutta: *Kevālo paripāro bhaddhammo*.

² Four emphatic synonyms in the original.

has attained nirvana cannot be adequately defined or grasped even in this life what binds him to being is cut¹ but it is inappropriate and inadequate to say that he has become nothing².

¹ Dig Nik 1 73 uccinna bhava-nettiko

² I recommend the reader to consider carefully the passage at the end of Book iv of Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (Haldane and Kemp's translation, vol. 1 pp 529-530) Though he evidently misunderstood what he calls "the Nirvana of the Buddhists" yet his own thought throws much light on it

CHAPTER XI

MONKS AND LAYMEN

1

THE great practical achievement of the Buddha was to found a religious order which has lasted to the present day. It is known as the Sangha and its members are called Bhikkhus¹. It is chiefly to this institution that the permanence of his religion is due.

Corporations or confraternities formed for the purpose of leading a particular form of life are among the most widespread manifestations of primitive worship at any rate of that stage in which it passes into something which can be called personal religion and at least three causes contribute to their formation. First, early institutions were narrower and more personal than those of to-day. In politics as well as religion such relatively broad designations as Englishman or Frenchman, Buddhist or Christian imply a slowly widening horizon gained by centuries of cooperation and thought. In the time of the Buddha such national and religious names did not exist. People belonged to a clan or served some local prince. Similarly in religious matters they followed some teacher or worshipped some god and in either case if they were in earnest they tended to become members of a society. Societies such as the Pythagorean and Orphic brotherhoods were also common in Greece from the sixth century B.C. onwards but the result was small for the genius of the Greeks turned towards politics and philosophy. But in India where politics had strangely little attraction for the cultured classes energy and intelligence found an outlet in the religious life and created a multitude of religious societies. Even to-day Hinduism has no one creed or code and those who take a serious interest in religion are not merely Hindus but follow some sect which without damming

¹Sk. *Bhikkhu*, beggar or mendicant, because they live on alms. *Bhikkhucaryam* occurs in *Bṛihad Ār. Up.* III. 5. 1.

what it does not adopt, selects its own dogmas and observances. This is not sectarianism in the sense of schism. It is merely the desire to have for oneself some personal, intimate religious life. Even in so uncompromising and levelling a creed as Islam the devout often follow special *tarikhs*, that is, roads or methods of the devotional life, and these *tarikhs*, though differing more than the various orders of the Roman Catholic Church, are not regarded as sects distinct from ordinary orthodoxy. When Christ died, Christianity was not much more than such a *tarik*. It was an incipient religious order which had not yet broken with Judaism.

This idea of the private, even secret religious body is closely allied to another, namely, that family life and worldly business are incompatible with the quest for higher things. In early ages only priests and consecrated persons are expected to fast and practise chastity but when once the impression prevails that such observances not only achieve particular ends but produce wiser, happier, or more powerful lives, then they are likely to be followed by considerable numbers of the more intelligent, emotional and credulous sections of the population. The early Christian Church was influenced by the idea that the world is given over to Satan and that he who would save himself must disown it. The gentler Hindus were actuated by two motives. First, more than other races, they felt the worry and futility of worldly life. Secondly, they had a deep-rooted belief that miraculous powers could be acquired by self-mortification and the sensations experienced by those who practised fasting and trances confirmed this belief.

The third cause for the foundation and increase of religious orders is a perception of the influence which they can exercise. The disciples of a master or the priests of a god, if numerous and organized, clearly possess a power analogous to that of an army. To use such institutions for the service and protection of the true faith is an obvious expedient of the zealot ecclesiastical statecraft and ambition soon make their appearance in most orders founded for the assistance of the Church militant. But of this spirit Buddhism has little to show, except in Tibet and Japan it is almost absent. The ideal of the Buddha lay within his order and was to be realized in the life of the members. They had no need to strive after any extraneous goal.

The Sangha as this order was called arose naturally out of the social conditions of India in the time of Gotama. It was considered proper that an earnest-minded man should renounce the world and become a wanderer. In doing this and in collecting round him a band of disciples who had a common mode of life Gotama created nothing new. He merely did with conspicuous success what every contemporary teacher was doing. The confraternity which he founded differed from others chiefly in being broader and more human, less prone to extravagances and better organized. As we read the accounts in the Pitakas its growth seems so simple and spontaneous that no explanation is necessary. Disciples gather round the master and as their numbers increase he makes a few salutary regulations. It is almost with surprise that we find the result to be an organization which became one of the great forces of the world.

The Buddha said that he taught a middle path equally distant from luxury and from self mortification but Europeans are apt to be struck by his condemnation of pleasure and to be repelled by a system which suppresses so many harmless activities. But contemporary opinion in India criticized his discipline as easy-going and lax. We frequently hear in the Vinaya that the people murmured and said his disciples behaved like those who still enjoy the good things of the world. Some we are told tried to enter the order merely to secure a comfortable existence¹. It is clear that he went to the extreme limits which public opinion allowed in dispensing with the rigours considered necessary to the religious life and we shall best understand his spirit if we fix our attention not so much on the regime to our way of thinking austere which he prescribed—the single meal a day and so on—as on his insistence that what is necessary is emancipation of heart and mind and the cultivation of love and knowledge all else being a matter of indifference. Thus he says to the ascetic Kassapa² that though a man perform all manner of penances yet if he has not attained the bliss which comes of good conduct a good heart and good mind he is far from being a true monk. But when he has the heart of love that knows no anger nor ill will when he has destroyed lust and become emancipated even before death then he deserves the name of monk. It is a

¹ Mahāvag. I. 49 of. Ib. I. 32.

² Dig. Nik. viii.

common thing to say, he goes on, that it is hard to lead the life of a monk. But asceticism is comparatively easy, what is really hard is the conversion and emancipation of the heart.

In India, where the proclivity to asceticism and self-torture is endemic, it was only natural that penance should in very truth seem easier and more satisfactory than this spiritual discipline. It won more respect and doubtless seemed more tangible and definite, more like what the world expected from a holy man. Accordingly we find that efforts were made by Devadatta and others to induce the Buddha to increase the severity of his discipline. But he refused¹. The more ascetic form of life, which he declined to make obligatory, is described in the rules known as Dhutāṅgas, of which twelve or thirteen are enumerated. They are partly a stricter form of the ordinary rules about food and dress and partly refer to the life of a hermit who lives in the woods or in a cemetery.

In the Pīṭakas² Kassapa's disciples are described as *dhuta-vāḍḍā* and the advantages arising from the observance of the Dhutāṅgas are enumerated in the Questions of Mīhinda. It is probable that the Buddha himself had little sympathy with them. He was at any rate anxious that they should not degenerate into excesses. Thus he forbade³ his disciples to spend the season of the rains in a hollow tree, or in a place where dead bodies are kept, or to use an alms bowl made out of a skull. Now Kassapa had been a Brahman ascetic and it is probable that in tolerating the Dhutāṅgas the Buddha merely intended to allow him and his followers to continue the practices to which they were accustomed. They were an influential body and he doubtless desired their adhesion, for he was sensitive to public opinion⁴ and anxious to conform to it when conformity involved no sacrifice of principle. We hear repeatedly that the laity complained of some practice of his Bhikkhus and that when the complaint was brought to his ears he ordered the objectionable practice to cease. Once the king of Magadha asked the congregation to postpone the period of retreat during the rains until the next full moon day. They referred the matter to the Buddha. "I prescribe that you obey kings," was his reply.

¹ Cullavag. I. 1. 3

² Sam. Nik. xiv 15 12, Ang. Nik. I. xiv

³ Mahāvag. III. 12

⁴ Or the opinion of single persons, e.g. Visākhā in Mahāvag. III. 13

One obvious distinction between the Buddha's disciples and other confraternities was that they were completely clad whereas the Ājivikas Jains and others went about naked. The motive for this rule was no doubt decency and a similar thought made Gotama insist on the use of a begging bowl whereas some sectaries collected scraps of food in their hands. Such extravagances led to abuses resembling the degradation of some modern fakirs. Even the Jain scriptures admit that pious householders were disgusted by the ascetics who asked for a lodging in their houses—naked unwashed men, foul to smell and loathsome to behold¹. This was the sort of life which the Buddha called *anariyam* ignoble or barbaric. With such degradation of humanity he would have nothing to do. He forbade nakedness as well as garments of hair and other uncomfortable costumes. The raiment which he prescribed consisted of three pieces of cloth of the colour called *kāśāva*. This was probably dull orange selected as being unornamental. It would appear that in mediæval India the colour in use was reddish at present a rather bright and not unpleasant yellow is worn in Burma, Ceylon, Siam and Cambodia. Originally the robes were made of rags collected and sewed together but it soon became the practice for pious laymen to supply the Order with raiment.

2

In the *Mahā* and *Culla-vaggas* of the *Vinaya Pitaka* we possess a large collection of regulations purporting to be issued by the Buddha for the guidance of the Order on such subjects as ceremonial, discipline, clothes, food, furniture and medicine. The arrangement is roughly chronological. Gotama starts as a new teacher without either followers or a code. As disciples multiply the need for regulations and uniformity of life is felt. Each incident and difficulty that arises is reported to him and he defines the correct practice. One may suspect that many usages represented as originating in the injunctions of the master really grew up gradually. But the documents are ancient they date from the generations immediately following the Buddha's death and their account of his activity as an

¹ *Asaṅgama*, II. 2. 2.

organizer is probably correct in substance. One of the first reasons which rendered regulations necessary was the popularity of the order and the respect which it enjoyed. King Bimbisâra of Magadha is represented as proclaiming that "It is not permitted to do anything to those who join the order of the Sakyaputtiya¹." Hence robbers², debtors, slaves, soldiers anxious to escape service and others who wished for protection against the law or merely to lead an idle life, desired to avail themselves of these immunities. This resulted in the gradual elaboration of a code of discipline which did much to secure that only those actuated by proper motives could enter the order and only those who conducted themselves properly could stay within it.

We find traces of a distinction between those Bhikkhus who were hermits and lived solitary lives in the woods and those who moved about in bands, frequenting rest houses. In the time of the Buddha the wandering life was a reality but later most monks became residents in monasteries. Already in the Vinaya we seem to breathe the atmosphere of large conventual establishments where busy superintendents see to the lodging and discipline of crowds of monks, and to the distribution of the gifts made by pious laymen. But the Buddha himself knew the value of forests and plant life for calming and quickening the mind. "Here are trees," he would say to his disciples at the end of a lecture, "go and think it out³."

In the poetical books of the Tripitaka, especially the collections known as the Songs of the Monks and Nuns, this feeling is still stronger. We are among anchorites who pass their time in solitary meditation in the depths of forests or on mountain tops and have a sense of freedom and a joy in the life of wild things not found in cloisters. These old monkish poems are somewhat wearisome as continuous reading, but their monotonous enthusiasm about the conquest of desire is leavened by a sincere and observant love of nature. They sing of the scenes in which meditation is pleasant, the flowery banks of streams that flow through reeds and grasses of many colours as well as

¹ Mahâv 1 42

² But converted robbers were occasionally admitted, e.g. Angulimâla

³ Sam Nik iv xxxv, Maj Nik 8 *ad fin*. On the value attached by mystics in all countries to trees and flowers, see Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 231

the mysterious midnight forest when the dew falls and wild beasts howl, they ooto the plumage of the blue peacock the flight of the yellow crane and the gliding movements of the water snake. It does not appear that these amiable hermits arrogated any superiority to themselves or that there was any opposition between them and the rest of the brethren. They preferred a form of the religious life which the Buddha would not make compulsory not it is older than Buddhism and not yet dead in India. The Sangha exercised no hierarchical authority over them and they accepted such simple symbols of union as the observance of Uposatha days.

The character of the Sangha has not materially changed since its constitution took definite shape towards the end of the master's life. It was and is simply a body of people who believe that the higher life cannot be lived in any existing form of society and therefore combine to form a confraternity where they are relieved of care for food and raiment where they can really take no thought for the morrow and turn the cheek to the smiter. They were not a corporation of priests and they had no political aims. Any free man unless his parents or the state had a claim on him and unless he suffered from certain diseases was admitted. He took no vows of obedience and was at any time at liberty to return to the world.

Though the Sangha as founded by the Buddha did not claim still less exact, anything from the laity yet it was their duty, their most obvious and easy method of acquiring merit to honour and support monks to provide them with food clothes and lodging and with everything which they might lawfully possess. Strictly speaking a monk does not beg for food nor thank for what he receives. He gives the layman a chance of doing a good deed and the donor not the recipient should be thankful.

At first the Buddha admitted converts to the order himself not he subsequently prescribed two simple ceremonies for admission to the novitiate and to full privileges respectively. They are often described as ordinations but are rather applications from postulants which are granted by a Chapter consisting of at least ten members. The first called *pabbajjā* or going forth—that is leaving the world—is effected when the would be novice duly shorn and robed in yellow recites the three refuges

and the ten precepts¹ Full membership is obtained by the further ceremony called upasampadâ The postulant, who must be at least twenty years old, is examined in order to ascertain that he is *sui juris* and has no disqualifying disease or other impediment Then he is introduced to the Chapter by "a learned and competent monk" who asks those who are in favour of his admission to signify the same by their silence and those who are not, to speak If this formula is repeated three times without calling forth objection, the upasampadâ is complete. The newly admitted Bhikkhu must have an Upajjhâya or preceptor on whom he waits as a servant, seeing to his clothes, bath, bed, etc. In return the preceptor gives him spiritual instruction, supervises his conduct and tends him when sick

The Chapter which had power to accept new monks and regulate discipline consisted of the monks inhabiting a parish or district, whose extent was fixed by the Sangha itself Its reality as a corporate body was secured by stringent regulations that under no excuse must the Bhikkhus resident in a parish omit to assemble on Uposatha days² The Vinaya³ represents the initiative for these simple observances as coming not from the Buddha but from King Bimbisâra, who pointed out that the adherents of other schools met on fixed days and that it would be well if his disciples did the same He assented and ordered that when they met they should recite a formula called Pâti-mokkha which is still in use It is a confessional service, in which a list of offences is read out and the brethren are asked three times after each item "Are you pure in this matter?" Silence indicates a good conscience Only if a monk has anything to confess does he speak It is then in the power of the assembly to prescribe some form of expiation The offender may be rebuked, suspended or even expelled But he must admit his guilt Otherwise disciplinary measures are forbidden.

What has been said above⁴ about the daily life of the Buddha applies equally to the life of his disciples Like him

¹ They are abstinence from (1) destroying life, (2) stealing, (3) impurity, (4) lying, (5) intoxicants, (6) eating at forbidden times, (7) dancing, music and theatres, (8) garlands, perfumes, ornaments, (9) high or large beds, (10) accepting gold or silver

² These are practically equivalent to Sundays, being the new moon, full moon and the eighth days from the new and full moon In Tibet however the 14th, 15th, 29th and 30th of each month are observed

³ Mahāvagga II 1-2

⁴ Chap VIII. Sec 3

they rose early journeyed or went to beg their only meal until about half past eleven and spent the heat of the day in retirement and meditation. In the evening followed discussion and instruction. It was forbidden to accept gold and silver but the order might possess parks and monasteries and receive offerings of food and clothes. The personal possessions allowed to a monk were only the three robes a girdle an alms bowl a razor a needle and a water strainer¹. Everything else which might be given to an individual had to be handed over to the confraternity and held in common and the Vinaya shows clearly how a band of wandering monks following their teacher from place to place speedily grew into an influential corporation possessing parks and monasteries near the principal cities. The life in these establishments attained a high level of comfort according to the standard of the times and the number of restrictive precepts suggests a tendency towards luxury. This was natural for the laity were taught that their duty was to give and the Order had to decide how much it could properly receive from those pious souls who were only too happy to acquire merit. In the larger Vihāras for instance at Sāvattthī, there were halls for exercise (that is walking up and down) halls with fires in them warm baths and store rooms.

The year of the Bhikkhus was divided into two parts. During nine months they might wander about live in the woods or reside in a monastery. During the remaining three months known as Vassa² or rainy season residence in a monastery was obligatory. This custom as mentioned existed in India before the Buddha's time and the Pitakas represent him as adopting it chiefly out of deference to public opinion. He did not prescribe any special observances for the period of Vassa but this was the time when people had most leisure since it was hard to move about and also when the monks were brought into continual contact with the inhabitants of a special locality. So it naturally became regarded as the appropriate season for giving instruction to the laity. The end of the rainy season was marked by a ceremony called Pavāraṇā at which the monks

¹ Required not so much to purify water as to prevent the accidental destruction of insects.

² It might begin either the day after the full moon of Asāḍha (June-July) or a month later. In either case the period was three months. *Mahāvag.* III. 2.

asked one another to pardon any offences that might have been committed, and immediately after it came the Kathina ceremony or distribution of robes. Kathina signifies the store of raw cotton cloth presented by the laity and held as common property until distributed to individuals.

It would be tedious to give even an abstract of the regulations contained in the Vinaya. They are almost exclusively concerned with matters of daily life, dwellings, furniture, medicine and so forth, and if we compare them with the statutes of other religious orders, we are struck by the fact that the Buddha makes no provision for work, obedience or worship. In the western branches of the Christian Church—and to some extent, though less markedly, in the eastern—the theory prevails that “Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do” and manual labour is a recognized part of the monastic life. But in India conditions and ideals were different. The resident monk grew out of the wandering teacher or disputant, who was not likely to practise any trade, it was a maxim that religious persons lived on alms, and occupations which we consider harmless, such as agriculture, were held to be unsuitable because such acts as ploughing may destroy animal life. Probably the Buddha would not have admitted the value of manual labour as a distraction and defence against evil thoughts. No one was more earnestly bent on the conquest of such thoughts, but he wished to extirpate them, not merely to crowd them out. Energy and activity are insisted on again and again, and there is no attempt to discourage mental activity. Reading formed no part of the culture of the time, but a life of travel and new impressions, continual discussion and the war of wits, must have given the Bhikkhus a more stimulating training than was to be had in the contemporary Brahmanic schools.

The Buddha's regulations contain no vow of obedience or recognition of rank other than simple seniority or the relation of teacher to pupil. As time went on various hierarchical expedients were invented in different countries, since the management of large bodies of men necessitates authority in some form, but except in Lamaism this authority has rarely taken the form familiar to us in the Roman and Oriental Churches, where the Bishops and higher clergy assume the right to direct both the belief and conduct of others. In the Sangha,

no monk could give orders to another he who disobeyed the precepts of the order ceased to be a member of it either *ipso facto* or if he refused to comply with the expiation prescribed. Also there was no compulsion, no suppression of discussion, no delegated power to explain or supplement the truth. Hence differences of opinion in the Buddhist Church have largely taken the shape of schools of thought rather than of separate and polemical sects. Dissension indeed has not been absent but of persecution, such as stains the annals of the Christian Church there is hardly any record. The fact that the Sangha though nearly five hundred years older than any Christian institution is still vigorous shows that this noble freedom is not unsuccessful as a practical policy.

The absence of anything that can be called worship or cultus in Gotama's regulations is remarkable. He not merely sets aside the older religious rites such as prayer and sacrifice he does not prescribe anything whatever which is in ordinary language a religious act. For the Pātimokkha Pavāraṇā etc. are not religious ceremonies but chapters of the order held with an ethical object and the procedure (the proposal of a resolution and the request for an expression of opinion) is that adopted in modern public meetings, except that assent is signified by silence. It is true that the ceremonial of a religion is not likely to develop during the life of the founder for pious recollection and recitation of his utterances in the form of scripture are as yet impossible. Still if the Buddha had had any belief whatever in the edifying effect of ritual he would not have failed to institute some ceremony appealing if not to supernatural beings at least to human emotions. Even the few observances which he did prescribe seem to be the result of suggestion from others and the only inference to be drawn is that he regarded every form of religious observance as entirely superfluous.

At first the Sangha consisted exclusively of men. It was not until about five years after its establishment that the entreaties of the Buddha's foster-mother who had become a widow and of Ānanda prevailed on him to throw it open to women as well¹ but it would seem that the permission was wrung from him against his judgment. His reluctance was not due to a low estimate of female ability, for he recognized and made use of

¹ Collaṅg. x. 1.

the influence of women in social and domestic life and he admitted that they were as capable as men of attaining the highest stages of spiritual and intellectual progress. This is also attested by the Pitakas, for some of the most important and subtle arguments and expositions are put into the mouths of nuns¹. Indeed the objections raised by the Buddha, though emphatic, are as arguments singularly vague and the eight rules for nuns which he laid down and compared to an embankment built to prevent a flood seem dictated not by the danger of immorality but by the fear that women might aspire to the management of the order and to be the equals or superiors of monks.

So far as we can tell, his fears were not realized. The female branch of the order showed little vigour after its first institution but it does not appear that it was a cause of weakness or corruption. Women were influential in the infancy of Buddhism, but we hear little of the nuns when this first ardour was over. We may surmise that it was partly due to personal devotion to Gotama and also that there was a growing tendency to curtail the independence allowed to women by earlier Aryan usage. The daughters of Asoka play some part in the narratives of the conversion of Ceylon and Nepal but after the early days of the Church female names are not prominent. Subsequently the succession became interrupted and, as nuns can receive ordination only from other nuns and not from monks, it could not be restored. The so-called nuns of the present day are merely religious women corresponding to the sisters of Protestant Churches, but are not ordained members of an order. But the right of women to enjoy the same spiritual privileges as men is not denied in theory and in practice Buddhism has done nothing to support or commend the system of the harem or zenana. In some Buddhist countries such as Burma and Siam women enjoy almost the same independence as in Europe. In China and Japan their status is not so high, but one period when Buddhism was powerful in Japan (800–1100 A.D.) was marked by the number of female writers and among the Manchus and Tibetans women enjoy considerable freedom and authority.

¹ See the papers by Mrs Bode in *J R A S* 1893, pp 517–66 and 763–98, and Mrs Rhys Davids in *Ninth Congress of Orientalists*, vol. I, p. 344.

3

Those who follow the law of the Buddha but are not members of the Sangha are called Upāsakas¹ that is worshippers or adherents. The word may be conveniently rendered by laymen although the distinction between clergy and laity as understood in most parts of Europe does not quite correspond to the distinction between Bhikkhus and Upāsakas. European clergy are often thought of as interpreters of the Deity and whenever they have had the power they have usually claimed the right to supervise and control the moral or even the political administration of their country. Something similar may be found in Lamaism but it forms no part of Gotama's original institution nor of the Buddhist Church as seen to-day in Burma, Siam and Ceylon. The members of the Sangha are not priests or mediators. They have joined a confraternity in order to lead a higher life for which ordinary society has no place. They will teach others not as those whose duty it is to make the laity conform to their standard but as those who desire to make known the truth. And easy as is the transition from this attitude to the other it must be admitted that Buddhism has rarely laid itself open to the charge of interfering in politics or of seeking temporal authority. Rather may it be accused of a tendency to indolence. In some cases elementary education is in the hands of the monks and their monasteries serve the purpose of village schools. Elsewhere they are harmless recluses whom the unsympathetic critic may pity as useless but can hardly condemn as ambitious or interfering. This is not however altogether true of Tibet and the Far East.

It is sometimes said that the only real Buddhists are the members of the Sangha and there is some truth in this particularly in China where one cannot count as a Buddhist every one who occasionally attends a Buddhist service. But on the other hand Gotama accorded to the laity a definite and honourable position and in the Pitakas they notify their conversion by a special formula. They cannot indeed lead the perfect life but they can ensure birth in happy states and a good layman may even attain nirvana on his death bed. But though the pious householder takes his refuge in the law and in the order of

¹ Feminine Upāsikā.

monks" from whom he learns the law, yet these monks make no attempt to supervise or even to judge his life. The only punishment which the Order inflicts, to turn down the bowl and refuse to accept alms from guilty hands, is reserved for those who have tried to injure it and is not inflicted on notorious evil livers. It is the business of a monk to spread true knowledge and good feeling around him without enquiring into the thoughts and deeds of those who do not spontaneously seek his counsel. Indeed it may be said that in Burma it is the laity who supervise the monks rather than *vice versa*. Those Bhikkhus who fall short of the accepted standard, especially in chastity, are compelled by popular opinion to leave the monastery or village where they have misbehaved. This reminds us of the criticisms of laymen reported in the Vinaya and the deference which the Buddha paid to them.

The ethical character of Buddhism and its superiority to other Indian systems are shown in the precepts which it lays down for laymen. Ceremony and doctrine have hardly any place in this code, but it enjoins good conduct and morality, moderation in pleasures and consideration for others. Only five commandments are essential for a good life but they are perhaps more comprehensive and harder to keep than the Decalogue, for they prescribe abstinence from the five sins of taking life, drinking intoxicants, lying, stealing and unchastity. It is meritorious to observe in addition three other precepts, namely, to use no garlands or perfumes, to sleep on a mat spread on the ground and not to eat after midday. Pious laymen keep all these eight precepts, at least on Uposatha days, and often make a vow to observe them for some special period. The nearer a layman can approximate to the life of a monk the better for his spiritual health, but still the aims and ideals, and consequently the methods, of the lay and religious life are different. The Bhikkhu is not of this world, he has cut himself loose from its ties, pleasures and passions, he strives not for heaven but for arhatship. But the layman, though he may profitably think of nirvana and final happiness, may also rightly aspire to be born in some temporary heaven. The law merely bids him be a kind, temperate, prudent man of the world. It is only when he speaks to the monks that the Buddha really speaks to his own and gives his own thoughts only for them are the high

common sense and good feeling Gotama could bring to bear on the affairs of every-day life when he gave them his attention and the whole classification of reciprocal obligations recalls the five relationships of Chinese morality, three of which are identical with Gotama's divisions, namely parents and children, husband and wife, and friends. But national characteristics make themselves obvious in the differences. Gotama says nothing about politics or loyalty, the Chinese list, which opens with the mutual duties of sovereigns and subjects, is silent respecting the church and clergy.

The Sangha is an Indian institution and invites comparison with that remarkable feature of Indian social life, the Brahman caste. At first sight the two seem mutually opposed, for the one is a hereditary though intellectual aristocracy, claiming the possession of incommunicable knowledge and power, the other a corporation open to all who choose to renounce the world and lead a good life. And this antithesis contains historical truth: the Sangha, like the similar orders of the Jains and other Kshatriya sects, was in its origin a protest against the exclusiveness and ritualism of the Brahmans. Yet compared with anything to be found in other countries the two bodies have something in common. For instance it is a meritorious act to feed either Brahmans or Bhikkhus. Europeans are inclined to call both of them priests, but this is inaccurate for a Bhikkhu rarely deserves the title¹ and nowadays Brahmans are not necessarily priests nor priests Brahmans. But in India there is an old and widespread idea that he who devotes himself to a religious and intellectual life (and the two spheres, though they do not coincide, overlap more than in Europe) should be not only respected but supported by the rest of the world. He is not a professional man in the sense that lawyers, doctors and clergymen are, but rather an aristocrat. Though from the earliest times the nobles of India have had a full share of pride and self-confidence, the average Hindu has always believed in another kind of upper class, entered in some sects by birth, in others by merit, but in general a well-defined body, the conduct of whose members does not fail to command respect. The *do ut des* principle is certainly not wanting, but

¹ It may seem superfluous to insist on this, yet Warren in his *Buddhism in Translations* uniformly renders Bhikkhu by priest.

CHAPTER XII

ASOKA

1

THE first period in the history of Buddhism extends from the death of the founder to the death of Asoka, that is to about 232 B C. It had then not only become a great Indian religion but had begun to send forth missionaries to foreign countries. But this growth had not yet brought about the internal changes which are inevitable when a creed expands far beyond the boundaries within which it was a natural expression of local thought. An intellectual movement and growth is visible within the limits of the Pali Canon and is confirmed by what we hear of the existence of sects or schools, but it does not appear that in the time of Asoka the workings of speculation had led to any point of view materially different from that of Gotama.

Our knowledge of general Indian history before the reign of Asoka is scanty and the data which can be regarded as facts for Buddhist ecclesiastical history are scantier still. We hear of two (or including the Mahâsangîti three) meetings sometimes called Councils, scriptures, obviously containing various strata, were compiled, and eighteen sects or schools had time to arise and some of them to decay. Much doubt has been cast upon the councils¹ but to my mind this suspicion is unmerited, provided that too ecclesiastical a meaning is not given to the word. We must not suppose that the meetings held at Râjagaha and Vesâlî were similar to the Council of Nicaea or that they produced the works edited by the Pali Text Society. Such terms as canon, dogma and council, though indispensable, are misleading at this period. We want less formal equivalents for the same ideas. A number of men who were strangers to those conceptions

¹ Especially in R. O. Franke's article in the *J P T S* 1908. To demonstrate the "literary dependence" of chapters XI, XII of the Cullavagga does not seem to me equivalent to demonstrating that the narratives contained in those chapters are "air bubbles."

then went on to ask what the Buddha had meant by the lesser and minor precepts which might be abolished. Ânanda (who came in for a good deal of blame in the course of the proceedings) confessed that he had forgotten to ask the Master for an explanation and divergent opinions were expressed as to the extent of the discretion allowed. Kassapa finally proposed that the Sangha should adopt without alteration or addition the rules made by the Buddha. This was approved and the Dhamma and Vinaya as chanted by the assembled Bhikkhus were accepted. The Abhidhamma is not mentioned. The name usually given to these councils is Sangâti, which means singing or chanting together. An elder is said to have recited the text sentence by sentence and each phrase was intoned after him by the assembly as a sign of acceptance. Upâli was the principal authority for the Vinaya and Ânanda for the Dhamma but the limits of the authority claimed by the meeting are illustrated by an anecdote¹ which relates that after the chanting of the law had been completed Pûrana and his disciples arrived from the Southern Hills. The elders asked him to accept the version rehearsed by them. He replied, "The Dhamma and Vinaya have been well sung by the Theras, nevertheless as they have been received and heard by me from the mouth of the Lord, so will I hold them." In other words the council has put together a very good account of the Buddha's teaching but has no claim to impose it on those who have personal reminiscences of their own.

This want of a central authority, though less complete than in Brahmanism, marks the early life of the Buddhist community. We read in later works² of a succession of Elders who are sometimes called Patriarchs³ but it would be erroneous to think of them as possessing episcopal authority. They were at most the chief teachers of the order. From the death of the Buddha to Asoka only five names are mentioned³. But five names can fill the interval only if their bearers were unusually long-lived. It is therefore probable that the list merely contains the names of prominent Theras who exercised little authority

¹ Cullav. XI. 1. 11

² Especially in Chinese works

³ Upâli, Dasaka, Sonaka, Siggava (with whom the name of Candravarjî is

in virtue of any office though their personal qualities assured them respect. Upālī who comes first is called chief of the Vinaya but so far as there was one head of the order it seems to have been Kassapa. He is the Brahmin ascetic of Uruvelā whose conversion is recorded in the first book of the *Mahāvagga* and is said to have exchanged robes with the Buddha¹. He observed the *Dhutāṅgas* and we may conjecture that his influence tended to promote asceticism. Dasaka and Sonaka are also designated as chiefs of the Vinaya and there was perhaps a distinction between those who studied (to use modern phrases) ecclesiastical law and dogmatic theology.

The accounts² of the second Council are as abrupt as those of the first and do not connect it with previous events. The circumstances said to have led to its meeting are however probable. According to the *Cullavagga* a hundred years after the death of the Buddha certain Bhikkhus of Vnjjian lineage resident at Vesālī upheld ten theses involving relaxations of the older discipline. The most important of these was that monks were permitted to receive gold and silver but all of them trivial as they may seem had a dangerous bearing for they encouraged not only luxury but the formation of independent schools. For instance they allowed pupils to cite the practice of their preceptors as a justification for their conduct and authorized monks resident in one parish to hold *Upasatha* in separate companies and not as one united body. The story of the condemnation of these new doctrines contains miraculous incidents but seems to have a historical basis. It relates how a monk called Yasa when a guest of the monks of Vesālī quarrelled with them because they accepted money from the laity and departing thence sought for support among the Thoras or elders of the south and west. The result was a conference at Vesālī in which the principal figures are Revata and Sabbakāmi a pupil of Ānanda expressly said to have been ordained one hundred and twenty years earlier³. The ten theses

¹ Sam. Nik. xvi. 11. The whole section is called Kassapa Samyutta.

² They are to be found chiefly in *Cullavagga*, xii., *Dīpavamsa*, iv and v and *Mahāvamsa*, iv.

The *Dīpavamsa* adds that all the principal monks present had seen the Buddha. They must therefore all have been considerably over a hundred years old so that the chronology is open to grave doubt. It would be easier if we could suppose the meeting was held a hundred years after the enlightenment.

were referred to a committee, which rejected them all, and this rejection was confirmed by the whole Sangha, who proceeded to rehearse the Vinaya. We are not however told that they revised the Sutta or Abhidhamma.

Here ends the account of the Cullavagga but the Dîpavamsa adds that the wicked Vajjian monks, to whom it ascribes wrong doctrines as well as errors in discipline, collected a strong faction and held a schismatic council called the Mahâsangîti. This meeting recited or compiled a new version of the Dhamma and Vinaya.¹ It is not easy to establish any facts about the origin and tenets of this Mahâsangîtika or Mahâsanghika sect, though it seems to have been important. The Chinese pilgrims Fa Hsien and Hsuan Chuang, writing on the basis of information obtained in the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, represent it as arising in connection with the first council, which was either that of Râjagaha or some earlier meeting supposed to have been held during the Buddha's lifetime, and Hsuan Chuang² intimates that it was formed of laymen as well as monks and that it accepted additional matter including dhâranîs or spells rejected by the monkish council. Its name (admitted by its opponents) seems to imply that it represented at one time the opinions of the majority or at least a great number of the faithful. But it was not the sect which flourished in Ceylon and the writer of the Dîpavamsa is prejudiced against it. It may be a result of this animus that he connects it with the discreditable Vajjian schism and the Chinese tradition may be more correct. On the other hand the adherents of the school would naturally be disposed to assign it an early origin. Fa Hsien says³ that the Vinaya of the Mahâsanghikas was considered "the most complete with the fullest explanations." A translation of this text is contained in the Chinese Tripitaka.⁴

¹ They are said to have rejected the Parivâra, the Paṭisambhîdâ, the Niddesa and parts of the Jâtaka. These are all later parts of the Canon and if the word rejection were taken literally it would imply that the Mahâsangîti was late too. But perhaps all that is meant is that the books were not found in their Canon. Chinese sources (e.g. Fa Hsien, tr. Legge, p. 99) state that they had an Abhidhamma of their own.

² *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II pp. 164-5, Watters, *Yüan Chwang*, pp. 159-161.

³ Cap. XXXVI Legge, p. 98.

⁴ See I-tsing's *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, trans. by Takakusu, p. xx and Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, nos. 1199, 1105 and 1159.

an examination and refutation of heretical views rather than a description of the bodies that held them but we can judge from it what was the religious atmosphere at the time and the commentary gives some information about various sects. Many centuries later I-ching tells us that during his visit to India (671-695 A D) the principal schools were four in number, with eighteen subdivisions. These four¹ are the Mahâsanghika, the Sthavira (equivalent to the old Theravâda), the Mûlasarvâstivâda and the Sammitiya, and from the time of Asoka onwards they throw the remaining divisions into the shade². He adds that it is not determined which of the four should be grouped with the Mahâyâna and which with the Hînayâna, that distinction being probably later in origin. The differences between the eighteen schools in I-ching's time were not vital but concerned the composition of the canon and details of discipline. It was a creditable thing to be versed in the scriptures of them all³. It is curious that though the Kathâvatthu pays more attention to the opinions of the six new sects than to those held by most of the eighteen, yet this latter number continued to be quoted nearly a thousand years later, whereas the additional six seem forgotten. It may be that they were more unorthodox than the others and hence required fuller criticism. Five of their names are geographical designations, but we hear no more of them after the age of Asoka.

The religious horizon of the heretics confuted in the Kathâvatthu does not differ materially from that of the Pîtakas. There are many questions about arhatship, its nature, the method of obtaining it and the possibility of losing it. Also we find registered divergent views respecting the nature of knowledge and sensation. Of these the most important is the doctrine attributed to the Sammitiyas, that a soul exists in the highest and truest sense. They are also credited with holding that an arhat can fall from arhatship, that a god can enter the paths or the Order, and that even an unconverted man can get rid of all lust and ill-will⁴. This collection of beliefs is possibly

¹ They must not be confused with the four philosophic schools Vaibhâshika, Sautrântika, Yogâcâra and Mâdhyamika. These came into existence later.

² But the Vetulyakas were important in Ceylon.

³ See Paramârtha's *Life of Vasabandhu*, T'oung Pao, 1904, p. 290.

⁴ See Rhys Davids in *J R A S* 1892, pp. 8-9. The name is variously spelt. The P T S print Sammitiya, but the Sanskrit text of the Madhyamakavṛtti (in

explicable as a result of the view that the condition of the soul which is continuous from birth to birth is stronger for good or evil than its surroundings. The germs of the Mahāyāna may be detected in the opinions of some sects on the nature of the Buddha and the career of a Bodhisattva. Thus the Andhakas thought that the Buddha was superhuman in the ordinary affairs of life and the Vetulyakas¹ held that he was not really born in the world of men but sent a phantom to represent him remaining himself in the Tusita heaven. The doctrines attributed to the Uttarāpathakas and Andhakas respectively that an unconverted man, if good is capable of entering on the career of a Bodhisattva and that a Bodhisattva can in the course of his career fall into error and be reborn in state of woe show an interest in the development of a Bodhisattva and a desire to bring it nearer to human life which are foreign to the Pitakas. An inclination to think of other states of existence in a manner half mythological half metaphysical is indicated by other heresies such as that there is an intermediate realm where beings await rebirth, that the dead benefit by gifts given in the world² that there are animals in heaven that the Four Truths the Chain of Causation and the Eightfold Path are self-existent (*asankhata*).

The point of view of the Kathāvatthu and indeed of the whole Pali Tripitaka is that of the Vibhajjavādins which seems to mean those who proceed by analysis and do not make vague generalizations. This was the school to which Tissa Moggallānputta belonged and was identical with the Theravāda (teaching of the elders) or a section of it. The prominence of this sect in the history of Buddhism has caused its own view namely that it represents primitive Buddhism to be widely accepted. And this view deserves respect for it rests on a solid historical basis namely that about two and a half centuries after the

Bibl. Buddh. has *Sāmmittiya*. Sanskrit dictionaries give *Sammattiya*. The Abhidharma section of the Chinese Tripitaka (Nanjo, 137) contains a *sūtra* belonging to this school. Nanjo, 1139 is apparently their Vinaya.

¹ Kern (*Verh. en Med. der K. Akad. van Wetenschappen Letterk.* 4. R. D. VIII. 1907 pp. 312-319, cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1907 p. 432) suggested on the authority of Kaabgarian mss. that the expression *Vallipulya sūtra* is a misreading for *Valtulya sūtra*, a *sūtra* of the Vetulyakas. Ananda was sometimes identified with the phantom who represented the Buddha.

It is remarkable that this view though condemned by the Kathāvatthu, is countenanced by the Khuddaka pāṭha.

Buddha's death and in the country where he preached, the Vibhajjavādins claimed to get back to his real teaching by an examination of the existing traditions¹ This is a very early starting-point But the Sarvāstivādins² were also an early school which attained to widespread influence and had a similar desire to preserve the simple and comparatively human presentment of the Buddha's teaching as opposed to later embellishments Only three questions in the Kathā-vatthu are directed against them but this probably means not that they were unimportant but that they did not differ much from the Vibhajjavādins The special views attributed to them are that everything really exists, that an arhat can fall from arhatship, and that continuity of thought constitutes Samādhi or meditation These theses may perhaps be interpreted as indicative of an aversion to metaphysics and the supernatural A saint has not undergone any supernatural transformation but has merely reached a level from which he can fall meditation is simply fixity of attention, not a mystic trance In virtue of the first doctrine European writers often speak of the Sarvāstivādins as realists but their peculiar view concerned not so much the question of objective reality as the difference between being and becoming They said that the world *is* whereas other schools maintained that it was a continual process of becoming³ It is not necessary at present to follow further the history of this important school It had a long career and flourished in Kashmir and Central Asia

Confused as are the notices of these ancient sects, we see with some clearness that in opposition to the Theravāda there was another body alluded to in terms which, though hostile, still imply an admission of size and learning, such as Mahāsaṅghika or Mahāsaṅgītika, the people of the great assembly, and Ācāryavāda or the doctrine of the Teachers It appears to have originated in connection with some council and to embody a popular protest against the severity of the doctrine there laid down This is natural, for it is pretty obvious that many found the argumentative psychology of the Theravādins arid and

¹ The Kathā vatthu constantly cites the Nikāyas

² Pali Sabbatthivādins

³ Cf the doctrine of the Sāṅkhya For more about the Sarvāstivādins see below, Book iv chap xxii

This was the end of his military career. Nothing could be gained by further conquests, for his empire already exceeded the limits set to effective government by the imperfect communications of the epoch, seeing that it extended from Afghanistan to the mouths of the Ganges and southwards almost to Madras. No evidence substantiates the later stories which represent him as a monster of wickedness before his conversion, but according to the *Dīpavamsa* he at first favoured heretics.

The general effect of Asoka's rule on the history of Buddhism and indeed of Asia is clear, but there is still some difference of opinion as to the date of his conversion. The most important document for the chronology of his reign is the inscription known as the first Minor Rock Edict¹. It is now generally admitted that it does not state the time which has elapsed since the death of the Buddha, as was once supposed, and that the King relates in it how for more than two and a half years after his conversion to Buddhism he was a lay-believer and did not exert himself strenuously, but subsequently joined the Sangha² and began to devote his energies to religion rather more than a year before the publication of the edict. This proclamation has been regarded by some as the first, by others as the last of his edicts. On the latter supposition we must imagine that he published a long series of ethical but not definitely Buddhist ordinances and that late in life he became first a lay-believer and then a monk, probably abdicating at the same time. But the King is exceedingly candid as to his changes of life and mind: he tells us how the horrors of the war with Kalinga affected him, how he was an easygoing layman and then a zealous monk. Had there been a stage between the war and his acceptance of Buddhism as a layman, a period of many years in which he devoted himself to the moral progress of his people without being himself a Buddhist, he would surely have explained it. Moreover in the Bhâbrû edict, which is distinctly ecclesiastical and deals with the Buddhist scriptures, he employs his favourite word *Dhamma* in the strict Buddhist sense, without indicating that he is giving it an unusual or new meaning.

¹ See articles by Fleet in *J R A S* of 1903, 1904, 1908-1911 and 1914. Hultzsch in *J R A S* 1910-11. Thomas in *J A* 1910. S. Lévi, *J A* 1911.

² Asoka's statement is confirmed (if it needs confirmation) by the Chinese pilgrim I ching who saw in India statues of him in monastic costume.

I therefore think it probable that he became a lay Buddhist soon after the conquest of Kalinga that is in the ninth or tenth year after his accession and a member of the Sangha two and a half years later. On this hypothesis all his edicts are the utterances of a Buddhist.

It may be objected that no one could be a monk and at the same time govern a great empire. It is more natural and more in accordance with Indian usage that towards the end of his life an aged king should abdicate and renounce the world. But Wn Ti the Buddhist Emperor of China, retired to a monastery twice in the course of his long reign and the cloistered Emperors of Japan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries continued to direct the policy of their country although they abdicated in name and set a child on the throne as titular ruler. The Buddhist Church was not likely to criticize Asoka's method of keeping his monastic vows and indeed it may be said that his activity was not so much that of a pious emperor as of an archbishop possessed of exceptional temporal power. He definitely renounced conquest and military ambitions and appears to have paid no attention to ordinary civil administration which he perhaps entrusted to Commissioners; he devoted himself to philanthropic and moral projects for the welfare of man and beast' such as lecturing his subjects on their duties towards all living creatures governing the Church building hospitals and stupas, supervising charities and despatching missions. In all his varied activity there is nothing unsuitable to an ecclesiastical statesman. In fact he is distinguished from most popes and prelates by his real indifference to secular aspirations and by the unusual facilities which he enjoyed for immediately putting his ideals into practice.

Asoka has won immortality by the Edicts which he caused to be engraved on stone¹. They have survived to the present day and are the most important monuments which we possess for the early history of India and of Buddhism. They have a character of their own. A French writer has said *On ne bavarde pas sur la pierre* and for most inscriptions the saying holds good but Asoka wrote on the rocks of India as if he were

For a bibliography of the literature about these inscriptions see Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. 1914 pp. 172-4.

dictating to a stenographer. He was no stylist and he was somewhat vain although, considering his imperial position and the excellence of his motives, this obvious side of his character is excusable. His inscriptions give us a unique series of sermons on stones and a record, if not of what the people of India thought, at least of what an exceptionally devout and powerful Hindu thought they ought to think.

Between thirty and forty of these inscriptions have been discovered, scattered over nearly the whole of India, and composed in vernacular dialects allied to Pali¹. Many of them are dated by the year of the King's reign and all announce themselves as the enactments of Piyadassi, the name Asoka being rarely used². They comprise, besides some fourteen single edicts³, two series, namely

(1) Fourteen Rock Edicts, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Asoka's reign⁴ and found inscribed in seven places but the recensions differ and some do not include all fourteen edicts.

(2) Seven Pillar Edicts dating from the 27th and 28th years, and found in six recensions.

The fourteen Rock Edicts are mostly sermons. Their style often recalls the Pitakas verbally, particularly in the application of secular words to religious matters. Thus we hear that righteousness is the best of lucky ceremonies and that whereas former kings went on tours of pleasure and hunting, Asoka prefers tours of piety and has set out on the road leading to true knowledge. In this series he does not mention the Buddha and in the twelfth edict he declares that he reverences all sects. But what he wished to preach and enforce was the *Dhamma*.

¹ The dialect is not strictly speaking the same in all the inscriptions.

² Piyadassi, Sanskrit Priyadarsin. The Dipavamsa, vi 1 and 14, calls Asoka Piyadassi and Piyadassana. The name Asoka has hitherto only been found in one edict discovered at Hyderabad, *J R A S* 1916, p. 573.

³ The principal single edicts are (1) that known as Minor Rock Edict 1 found in four recensions, (2) The Bhâbrû (or Bhâbrâ) Edict of great importance for the Buddhist scriptures, (3) Two Kalinga Edicts, (4) Edicts about schism, found at Sarnath and elsewhere, (4) Commemorative inscriptions in the Terâi, (5) Dedications of caves.

⁴ Asoka came to the throne about 270 B C (268 or 272 according to various authorities) but was not crowned until four years later. Events are generally dated by the year after his coronation (abhisheka), not after his accession.

It is difficult to find an English equivalent for this word¹ but there is no doubt of the meaning. It is the law in the sense of the righteous life which a Buddhist layman ought to live, and perhaps religion is the simplest translation provided that word is understood to include conduct and its consequences in another world but not theism. Asoka burns with zeal to propagate this Dhamma and his language recalls² the utterances of the Dhammapada. He formulates the law under four heads³.

Parents must be obeyed respect for living creatures must be enforced truth must be spoken the teacher must be revered by the pupil and proper courtesy must be shown to relations." In many ways the Sacred Edict of the Chinese Emperor Kang Hsi resembles these proclamations for it consists of imperial maxims on public morality addressed by a Confucian Emperor to a population partly Buddhist and Taoist, just as Asoka addressed Brahmans Jains and other sects as well as Buddhists. But when we find in the thirteenth Rock Edict the incidental statement that the King thinks nothing of much importance except what concerns the next world we feel the great difference between Indian and Chinese ideas whether ancient or modern.

The Rock Edicts also deal with the sanctity of animal life. Asoka's strong dislike of killing or hurting animals cannot be ascribed to policy for it must have brought him into collision with the Brahmans who offered animals in sacrifice but was the offspring of a naturally gentle and civilized mind. We may conjecture that the humanity of Buddhism was a feature which attracted him to it. In Rock Edict I he forbids animal sacrifices and informs us that whereas formerly many thousand animals were killed daily for the royal kitchens now only three are killed, namely two peacocks and a deer and the deer not always. But in future even these three creatures will not be slaughtered. In Rock Edict II he describes how he has cared for the comfort of man and beast. Wells have been dug trees roots and healing herbs have been planted and remedies—possibly hospitals—have been provided all for animals as well

¹ I must confess that Law of Piety (Vincent Smith) does not seem to me very idiomatic.

² See Benart, *Inscrip. de Piyadasi*, II. pp. 314 ff.

³ The Second Minor Rock Edict.

as for men, and this not only in his own dominions but in neighbouring realms. In the fourteenth year of his reign he appointed officers called *Dhamma-mahâmâtâ*, Ministers or Censors of the Dhamma. Their duty was to promote the observance of the Dhamma and they also acted as Charity Commissioners and superintendents of the households of the King's relatives. We hear that "they attend to charitable institutions, ascetics, householders and all the sects. I have also arranged that they shall attend to the affairs of the Buddhist clergy, as well as the Brahmans, the Jains, the *Ājīvikas* and in fact all the various sects." Further he tells us that the local authorities¹ are to hold quinquennial assemblies at which the Dhamma is to be proclaimed and that religious processions with elephants, cars, and illuminations have been arranged to please and instruct the people. Similar processions can still be seen at the *Perahera* festival in Kandy.

The last Rock Edict is of special interest for the light which it sheds both on history and on the King's character. He expresses remorse for the bloodshed which accompanied the conquest of Kalinga and declares that he will henceforth devote his attention to conquest by the Dhamma, which he has effected "both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues (²), even to where the Greek King named Antiochus dwells and beyond that Antiochus to where dwell the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander³, and in the south the kings of the Colas and Pandyas⁴ and of Ceylon and likewise here in the King's dominions, among the Yonas⁴ and Kâambojas⁵ in Nâbhaka of the Nâbhitis⁶ among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Ândhras and Pulindas⁷. Asoka thus appears to state that he has sent missionaries to (1) the outlying parts of India, on the borders of his own dominions, (2) to Ceylon, (3) to the Hellenistic Kingdoms of Asia, Africa and Europe.

This last statement is of the greatest importance, but no

¹ *Râjûka* and *pradesika*

² *I.e.* Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene and Epirus

³ Kingdoms in the south of India

⁴ The inhabitants of the extreme north-west of India, not necessarily Greeks by race

⁵ Possibly Tibet

⁶ Or *Nâbhapamtis*. In any case unknown

⁷ All these appear to have been tribes of Central India

record has hitherto been found of the arrival of these missionaries in the west. The language of the Edict about them is not precise and in fact their despatch is only an inference from it. Of the success of the Indian missions there is no doubt. Buddhism was introduced into southern India where it flourished to some extent though it had to maintain a double struggle against Jains as well as Brahmans. The statement of the Dīpa and Mahā vaṃsas that missionaries were also sent to Pegu (Suvannabhūmi) is not supported by the inscriptions though not in itself improbable, but the missions to the north and to Ceylon were remarkably successful.

The Sinhalese Chronicles¹ give the names of the principal missionaries despatched and their statements have received confirmation in the discoveries made at Sanchi and Sonari where urns have been found inscribed with the names of Majjhima Kassapa, and Gotiputta the successor of Dundhubhasara, who are called teachers of the Himalaya region. The statement in the Mahā and Dīpa vaṃsas is that Majjhima was sent to preach in the Himalaya accompanied by four assistants Kassapa, Malikādeva, Dundhābbhinassa and Sahassadana.

About the twenty first year of his reign Asoka made a religious tour and under the guidance of his preceptor Upagupta visited the Lumbini Park (now Rummidei) in the Terai where the Buddha was born and other spots connected with his life and preaching. A pillar has been discovered at Rummidei bearing an inscription which records the visit and the privileges granted to the village where "the Lord was born." At Nigllva a few miles off he erected another inscribed pillar stating that he had done reverence to the stūpa of the earlier Buddha Koṇāgamaṇa and for the second time repaired it.

During this tour he visited Nepal and Lalitpur, the capital founding there five stūpas. His daughter Cārumatī is said to have accompanied him and to have remained in Nepal when he returned. She built a convent which still bears her name and lived there as a nun. It does not appear that Asoka visited Kashmir, but he caused a new capital (Srinagar) to be built there and introduced Buddhism.

In the 27th and 28th year of his reign he composed another series of Edicts and this time had them carved in pillars not

¹ Dīpav. viii.; Mahāv. xii.

on rocks They are even more didactic than the Rock Edicts and contain an increasing number of references to the next world, as well as stricter regulations forbidding cruelty to animals, but the King remains tolerant and says¹ that the chief thing is that each man should live up to his own creed It is probable that at this time he had partially abdicated or at least abandoned some of the work of administration, for in Edict iv he states that he has appointed Commissioners with discretion to award honours and penalties and that he feels secure like a man who has handed over his child to a skilful nurse

In the two series of Rock and Pillar Edicts there is little dogmatic Buddhism It is true that the King's anxiety as to the hereafter of his subjects and his solicitude for animals indicate thoughts busy with religious ideas, but still his Dhamma is generally defined in terms which do not go beyond morality, kindness and sympathy But in the Bhâbrû (less correctly Bhâbrâ) Edict he recommends for study a series of scriptural passages which can be identified more or less certainly with portions of the Pali Pitakas In the Sarnath Edict he speaks not only as a Buddhist but as head of the Church He orders that monks or nuns who endeavour to create a schism shall put on lay costume and live outside their former monastery or convent He thus assumes the right to expel schismatics from the Sangha. He goes on to say that a similar edict (i.e. an edict against schism) is to be inscribed for the benefit of the laity who are to come and see it on Uposatha days "And on the Uposatha days in all months every officer is to come for the Uposatha service to be inspired with confidence in this Edict and to learn it" Thus the King's officers are to be Buddhists at least to the extent of attending the Uposatha ceremony, and the edict about schismatics is to be brought to the notice of the laity, which doubtless means that the laity are not to give alms to them

It is probable that many more inscriptions remain to be discovered but none of those known allude to the convening of a Council and our information as to this meeting comes from the two Sinhalese Chronicles and the works of Buddhaghosa It is said to have been held two hundred and thirty-six years

¹ Pillar Edict vi

after the death of the Buddha¹ and to have been necessitated by the fact that the favour shown to the Sangha induced heretics to become members of it without abandoning their errors. This occasioned disturbances and the King was advised to summon a sage called Tissa Moggaliputta (or Upagupta) then living in retirement and to place the affairs of the church in his hands. He did so. Tissa then composed the Kathā vatthu and presided over a council composed of one thousand arhats which established the true doctrine and fixed the present Pali Canon.

Even so severe a critic of Sinhalese tradition as Vincent Smith admits that the evidence for the council is too strong to be set aside, but it must be confessed that it would be reassuring to find some allusion to it in Asoka's inscriptions. He did not however always say what we should expect. In reviewing his efforts in the cause of religion he mentions neither a council nor foreign missions although we know from other inscriptions that such missions were despatched. The sessions of the council may be equally true and are in no way improbable for in later times kings of Burma, Ceylon and Siam held conventions to revise the text of the Tripitaka. It appeared natural that a pious king should see that the sacred law was observed and begin by ascertaining what that law was.

According to tradition Asoka died after reigning thirty-eight or forty years but we have no authentic account of his death and the stories of his last days seem to be pure legends. The most celebrated are the pathetic tale of Kunāla which closely resembles a Jātaka² and the account of how Asoka vowed to present a hundred million gold pieces to the Sangha and not being able to raise the whole sum made a gift of his dominions instead.

3

Asoka had a decisive effect on the history of Buddhism especially in making it a world religion. This was not the

¹ Perhaps meant to be equivalent to 351 a.d. Vincent Smith rejects this date and thinks that the Council met in the last ten years of Asoka's reign. But the Sinhalese account is reasonable. Asoka was very pious but very tolerant. Ten years of this regime may well have led to the abuse complained of.

² Jātaka, no. 472.

accidental result of his action in establishing it in north-west India and Ceylon, for he was clearly dominated by the thought that the Dhamma must spread over the whole world and, so far as we know, he was the first to have that thought in a practical form. But we could estimate his work better if we knew more about the religious condition of the country when he came to the throne. As it is, the periods immediately before and after him are plunged in obscurity and to illuminate his reign we have little information except his own edicts which, though copious, do not aim at giving a description of his subjects. Megasthenes who resided at Pataliputra about 300 B.C. does not appear to have been aware of the existence of Buddhism as a separate religion, but perhaps a foreign minister in China at the present day might not notice that the Chinese have more than one religion. On the other hand in Asoka's time Buddhism, by whatever name it was called, was well known and there was evidently no necessity for the King to explain what he meant by Dhamma and Sangha. The Buddha had belonged to a noble family and was esteemed by the aristocracy of Magadha, the code of morality which he prescribed for the laity was excellent and sensible. It is therefore not surprising if the Kshatriyas and others recognized it as their ideal nor if Asoka found it a sound basis of legislation. This legislation may be called Buddhist in the sense that in his edicts the King enjoins and to some extent enforces *sīlam* or morality, which is the indispensable beginning for all spiritual progress, and that his enactments about animals go beyond what is usual in secular law. But he expressly refrains from requiring adherence to any particular sect. On the other hand there is no lack of definite patronage of Buddhism. He institutes edifying processions, he goes on pilgrimages to sacred sites, he addresses the Sangha as to the most important parts of the scriptures, and we may infer that he did his best to spread the knowledge of those scriptures. Though he says nothing about it in the Edicts which have been discovered, he erected numerous religious buildings including the Sanchi tope and the original temple at Bodh-Gaya. Their effect in turning men's attention to Buddhism must have been greatly enhanced by the fact that so far as we know no other sect had stone temples at this time. To such influences, we must add the human element. The example and well-known

wishes of a great king supported by a numerous and learned clergy, could not fail to attract crowds to the faith, and the faith itself—for let us not forget Gotama while we give credit to his follower—was satisfying. Thus Asoka probably found Buddhism in the form of a numerous order of monks, respected locally and exercising a considerable power over the minds and conduct of laymen. He left it a great church spread from the north to the south of India and even beyond, with an army of officials to assist its progress with sacred buildings and monasteries, sermons and ceremonies. How long his special institutions lasted we do not know but no one acquainted with India can help feeling that his system of inspection was liable to grave abuse. Black mailing and misuse of authority are ancient faults of the Indian police and we may surmise that the generations which followed him were not long in getting rid of his censors and inspectors.

Christian critics of Buddhism are apt to say that it has a paralyzing effect on the nations who adopt it but Asoka's edicts teem with words like energy and strenuousness. It is most necessary to make an effort in this world so he recounts the efforts which he has himself made and wants every body else to make an effort. 'Work I must for the public benefit—and the root of the matter is in exertion and despatch of business than which nothing is more efficacious for the general welfare.' These sound like the words of a British utilitarian rather than of a dreamy oriental emperor. He is far from pessimistic indeed he almost ignores the Truth of Suffering. In describing the conquest of Kalinga he speaks almost in the Buddha's words of the sorrow of death and separation but instead of saying that such things are inevitable he wishes his subjects to be told that he regrets what has happened and desires to give them security peace and joy.

Asoka has been compared with Constantine but it has been justly observed that the comparison is superficial for Constantine (more like Kanishka than Asoka) merely recognized and regulated a religion which had already won its way in his empire. He has also been compared with St Paul and in so far as both men transformed a provincial sect into a religion for all mankind the parallel is just but it ends there. St Paul was a constructive theologian. For good or evil he greatly developed

and complicated the teaching of Christ, but the Edicts of Asoka if compared with the Pitakas seem to curtail and simplify their doctrines. No inscription has yet been found mentioning the four truths, the chain of causation and other familiar formulæ. Doubtless Asoka duly studied these questions, but it was not theology nor metaphysics which drew him towards religion. In the gallery of pious Emperors—a collection of dubious moral and intellectual value—he stands isolated as perhaps the one man whose only passion was for a sane, kindly and humane life, neither too curious of great mysteries nor preoccupied with his own soul but simply the friend of man and beast.

For the history of doctrine the inscription at Rummindei is particularly important. It merely states that the King did honour or reverence to the birthplace of the Buddha, who receives no titles except Sakyamuni and Bhagavan here or elsewhere in the inscriptions. It is a simple record of respect paid to a great human teacher who is not in any way deified nor does Asoka's language show any trace of the doctrines afterwards known under the name of Mahayana. He does not mention nirvana or even transmigration, though doubtless what he says about paradise and rewards hereafter should be read in the light of Indian doctrines about karma and saṃsāra.

The imperial imprimatur is the only standard of canonicity. The contents include translations of works belonging to all schools made from the first to the thirteenth century A.D. The originals were apparently all in Sanskrit and were probably the texts of which fragments have been found in Central Asia. This canon also includes some original Chinese works.

(4) There is a somewhat similar collection of translations into Tibetan. But whereas the Chinese Canon contains translations dated from 67 A.D. onwards, the Tibetan translations were made mainly in the ninth and eleventh centuries and represent the literature esteemed by the mediæval Buddhism of Bengal. Part at least of this Tibetan Canon has been translated into Mongol.

Renderings of various books into Uigur, Sogdian, Kuchanese, "Nordanisch" and other languages of Central Asia have been discovered by recent explorers. It is probable that they are all derived from the Sanskrit Canon and do not represent any independent tradition. The scriptures used in Japan and Korea are simply special editions of the Chinese Canon, not translations.

In the following pages I propose to consider the Pali Canon, postponing until later an account of the others. It will be necessary, however, to touch on the relations of Pali and Sanskrit texts.

The scriptures published by the Pali Text Society represent the canon of the ancient sect called Vibhajjavādins and the particular recension of it used at the monastery in Anuradhapura called Mahāvihāra. It is therefore not incorrect to apply to this recension such epithets as southern or Sinhalese, provided we remember that in its origin it was neither one nor the other, for the major part of it was certainly composed in India¹. It was probably introduced into Ceylon in the third century B.C. and it is also accepted in Burma, Siam and Cambodia². Thus in a considerable area it is the sole and undisputed version of the scriptures.

¹ I consider it possible, though by no means proved, that the Abhidhamma was put together in Ceylon.

² For the Burmese Canon see chap. XXVI. Even if the Burmese had Pali scriptures which did not come from Ceylon, they sought to harmonize them with the texts known there.

The Vinaya contains several important and curious narratives and is a mine of information about the social conditions of ancient India, but much of it has the same literary value as the book of Leviticus. Of greater general interest is the Sutta Pitaka, in which the sermons and discourses of the Buddha are collected. Sutta is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *Sûtra*, literally a thread, which signifies among the Brahmans a brief rule or aphorism but in Pali a relatively short poem or narrative dealing with a single object. This Sutta Pitaka is divided into five collections called *Nikâyas*. The first four are mainly in prose and contain discourses attributed to Gotama or his disciples. The fifth is mostly in verse and more miscellaneous.

The four collections of discourses bear the names of *Dîgha*, *Majjhima*, *Samyutta* and *Anguttara*. The first, meaning long, consists of thirty-four narratives. They are not all sermons and are of varying character, antiquity and interest, the reason why they are grouped together being simply their length¹. In some of them we may fancy that we catch an echo of Gotama's own words, but in others the legendary character is very marked. Thus the *Mahâsamaya* and *Añânâtiya* suttas are epitomes of popular mythology tacked on to the history of the Buddha. But for all that they are interesting and ancient.

Many of the suttas, especially the first thirteen, are rearrangements of old materials put together by a considerable literary artist who lived many generations after the Buddha. The account of the Buddha's last days is an example of such a compilation which attains the proportions of a Gospel and shows some dramatic power though it is marred by the juxtaposition of passages composed in very different styles.

The *Majjhima-Nikâya* is a collection of 152 discourses of moderate (*majjhima*) length. Taken as a whole it is perhaps the most profound and impassioned of all the *Nikâyas* and also the oldest. The sermons which it contains, if not verbatim reports of Gotama's eloquence, have caught the spirit of one who urged with insistent earnestness the importance of certain difficult truths and the tremendous issues dependent on right conduct and right knowledge. The remaining collections, the

¹ I find it hard to accept Francke's view that the *Dîgha* should be regarded as the Book of the *Tathâgata*, deliberately composed to expound the doctrine of Buddhahood. Many of the suttas do not deal with the *Tathâgata*.

attributed to Gotama. Such are the Buddha-vamsa, or lives of Gotama and his twenty-four predecessors, the Cariyâ-Piṭaka, a selection of Jâtaka stories about Gotama's previous births and the Vimâna and Peta-vatthus, accounts of celestial mansions and of the distressful existence led by those who are condemned to be ghosts¹

Though some works comprised in this Nikâya (*e g* the Sutta-nipâta) are very ancient, the collection, as it stands, is late and probably known only to the southern Church. The contents of it are not quite the same in Ceylon, Burma and Siam, and only a small portion of them has been identified in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Nevertheless the word *pañcanekâyika*, one who knows the five Nikâyas, is found in the inscriptions of Sanchi and five Nikâyas are mentioned in the last books of the Cullavagga. Thus a fifth Nikâya of some kind must have been known fairly early.

The third Piṭaka is known by the name of Abhidhamma.

¹ The following is a table of the Sutta Piṭaka

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| I. Digha-Nikâya | } Collections of discourses mostly attributed to the Buddha. |
| II. Majjhima-Nikâya | |
| III. Samyutta-Nikâya | |
| IV. Anguttara-Nikâya | |
| V. Khuddaka-Nikâya | a collection of comparatively short treatises, mostly in poetry, namely |
| 1. Dhammapada | |
| 2. Udâna | } Utterances of the Buddha with explanations of the attendant circumstances. |
| 3. Itivuttakam | |
| 4. Khuddaka-pâṭha | a short anthology |
| 5. Sutta nipâta | a collection of suttas mostly in verse |
| *6. Thera-gâthâ | poems by monks |
| *7. Therî-gâthâ | poems by nuns |
| 8. Niddesa | an old commentary on the latter half of the Sutta-nipâta, ascribed to Sâriputta |
| *9. The Jâtaka verses | |
| 10. Paṭisambhūḍā. | *11. Apadâna. |
| *12. Buddha-vamsa | *13. Vimâna-vatthu |
| *14. Peta vatthu | *15. Cariyâ-piṭaka |

The works marked * are not found in the Siamese edition of the Tripiṭaka but the Burmese editions include four other texts, the Mūhinda pañha, Petakopadesa, Suttassangaha, and Nettipakarana.

The Khuddaka-Nikâya seems to have been wanting in the Piṭaka of the Sarvâstivâdins or whatever sect supplied the originals from which the Chinese Canon was translated, for this Canon classes the Dhammapada as a miscellaneous work outside the Sutta Piṭaka. Fragments of the Sutta nipâta have been found in Turkestan but it is not clear to what Piṭaka it was considered to belong. For mentions of the Khuddaka Nikâya in Chinese see *J A* 1916, pp 32-3

and answers This enumeration is not to be understood as a statement of the sections into which the whole body of scripture was divided but as a description of the various styles of composition recognized as being religious, just as the Old Testament might be said to contain historical books, prophecies, canticles and so on Compositions in these various styles must have been current before the work of collection began, as is proved by the fact that all the *angas* are enumerated in the Majjhima-Nikâya¹

2

This Tripitaka is written in Pali² which is regarded by Buddhist tradition as the language spoken by the Master In the time of Asoka the dialect of Magadha must have been understood over the greater part of India, like Hindustani in modern times, but in some details of grammar and phonetics Pali differs from Mâgadhî Prakrit and seems to have been influenced by Sanskrit and by western dialects Being a literary rather than a popular language it was probably a mixed form of speech and it has been conjectured that it was elaborated in Avanti or in Gândhâra where was the great Buddhist University of Takshaśîlâ Subsequently it died out as a literary language in India³ but in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Camboja it became the vehicle of a considerable religious and scholastic literature. The language of Asoka's inscriptions in the third century B C is a parallel dialect, but only half stereotyped. The language of the Mahâvastu and some Mahayanist texts, often called the language of the Gâthâs, seems to be another vernacular brought more or less into conformity with Sanskrit. It is probable that

¹ Maj Nik xxii. and Angut Nik. iv 6

² Pali means primarily a line or row and then a text as distinguished from the commentary Thus Pâlimattam means the text without the commentary and Palibhâsâ is the language of the text or what we call Pali. See *Pali and Sanskrit*, R O Franke, 1902 Windisch, "Ueber den sprachlichen Character des Pali," in *Actes du XIV^{me} Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1905 Grierson, "Home of Pali" in *Bhandarkar Commemorative Essays*, 1917

³ It is not easy to say how late or to what extent Pali was used in India. The Milinda-Pañha (or at least books II. and III.) was probably composed in North Western India about the time of our era Dharmapâla wrote his commentaries (c 500 A D) in the extreme south, probably at Conjeevaram Pali inscriptions of the second or third century A D have been discovered at Sarnath but contain mistakes which show that the engraver did not understand the language (*Epig Ind* 1908, p 391) Bendall found Pali mss in Nepal, *J R A S* 1899, p 422

combinations of consonants and several difficult sounds found in Sanskrit. Its excellence lies chiefly in its vocabulary and its weakness in its syntax. Its inflexions are heavy and monotonous and the sentences lack concentration and variety. Compound words do not assume such monstrous proportions as in later Sanskrit, but there is the same tendency to make the process of composition do duty for syntax. These faults have been intensified by the fact that the language has been used chiefly for theological discussion. The vocabulary on the other hand is copious and for special purposes admirable. The translator has to struggle continually with the difficulty of finding equivalents for words which, though apparently synonymous, really involve nice distinctions and much misunderstanding has arisen from the impossibility of adequately rendering philosophical terms, which, though their European equivalents sound vague, have themselves a precise significance. On the other hand some words (*e g dhamma* and *attho*) show an inconveniently wide range of meaning. But the force of the language is best seen in its power of gathering up in a single word, generally a short compound, an idea which though possessing a real unity requires in European languages a whole phrase for its expression. Thus the Buddha bids his disciples be *attadîpâ attasaraṇā, anañña-saraṇā dhammadîpā dhammasaraṇā*¹ "Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast to the truth as a refuge." This is Rhys Davids' translation and excellent both as English and as giving the meaning. But the five Pali words compel attention and inscribe themselves on the memory in virtue of a monumental simplicity which the five English sentences do not possess.

But the feature in the Pali scriptures which is most prominent and most tiresome to the unsympathetic reader is the repetition of words, sentences and whole paragraphs. This is partly the result of grammar or at least of style. The simplicity of Pali syntax and the small use made of dependent sentences, lead to the regular alignment of similar phrases side by side

¹ Mahāparinibbāna sutta, II. 26. Another expressive compound is Dhūmakālikā (Cullav. XI. 1. 9) literally smoke-timed. The disciples were afraid that the discipline of the Buddha might last only as long as the smoke of his funeral pyre.

there is a guarantee of correctness when an expected formula appears at appropriate points

It may be too that the wearisome and mechanical iteration of the Pali Canon is partly due to the desire of the Sinhalese to lose nothing of the sacred word imparted to them by missionaries from a foreign country, for repetition to this extent is not characteristic of Indian compositions. It is less noticeable in Sanskrit Buddhist sūtras than in the Pali but is very marked in Jain literature. A moderate use of it is a feature of the Upanishads. In these we find recurring formulæ and also successive phrases constructed on one plan and varying only in a few words¹

But still I suspect that repetition characterized not only the reports of the discourses but the discourses themselves. No doubt the versions which we have are the result of compressing a free discourse into numbered paragraphs and repetitions. The living word of the Buddha was surely more vivacious and plastic than these stiff tabulations. But the peculiarities of scholars can often be traced to the master and the Buddha had much the same need of mnemonics as his hearers. For he had ex-cogitated complicated doctrines and he imparted them without the aid of notes and though his natural wit enabled him to adapt his words to the capacity of his hearers and to meet argument, still his wish was to formulate a consistent statement of his thoughts. In the earliest discourse ascribed to him, the sermon at Benares, we see these habits of numbering and repetition already fully developed. The next discourse, on the absence of a soul, consists in enumerating the five words, form, sensation, perception, sankhâras, and consciousness three times, and applying to each of them consecutively three statements or arguments, the whole concluding with a phrase which is used as a finale in many other places. Artificial as this arrangement sounds when analyzed, it is a natural procedure for one who wished to impress on his hearers a series of philosophic propositions without the aid of writing, and I can imagine that these

¹ Winternitz has acutely remarked that the Pali Pitaka resembles the Upanishads in style. See also Keith, *At Ar* p. 55. For repetitions in the Upanishads, see Chând v 3 4 ff, v 12 ff and much in vii and viii, Brihad-Âr iii ix 9 ff, vi iii 2, etc. This Upanishad relates the incident of Yâjñavalkya and Maitreyi twice. So far as style goes, I see no reason why the earliest parts of the Vinaya and Sutta Pitaka should not have been composed immediately after the Buddha's death.

rhythmical formulæ uttered in that grave and pleasant voice which the Buddha is said to have possessed, seemed to the leisurely yet eager groups who sat round him under some way side banyan or in the monastery park, to be not tedious iteration but a gradual revelation of truth growing clearer with each repetition.

We gather from the Pitakas that writing was well known in the Buddha's time¹. But though it was used for inscriptions, accounts and even letters, it was not used for books partly because the Brahmins were prejudiced against it and partly because no suitable material for inditing long compositions had been discovered. There were religious objections to parchment and leaves were not employed till later. The minute account of monastic life given in the Vinaya makes it certain that the monks did not use writing for religious purposes. Equally conclusive, though also negative, is the fact that in the accounts of the assemblies at Rājagaha and Vesālī² when there is a dispute as to the correct ruling on a point there is no appeal to writing but merely to the memory of the oldest and most authoritative monks. In the Vinaya we hear of people who know special books of monks who are preachers of the Dhamma and others who know the Sutta of laymen who have learnt a particular sutta and are afraid it will fall into oblivion unless others learn it from them. Apprehensions are expressed that suttas will be lost if monks neglect to learn them by heart³. From inscriptions of the third century B.C.⁴ are quoted words like *Petaki*, a reciter of the Pitakas or perhaps of one Pitaka. *Suttāntika* and *Suttāntakini* a man or woman who recites the suttas. *Paucanekāyika*, one who recites the five Nikāyas. All this shows that from the early days of Buddhism onwards a succession of persons made it their business to learn and recite the doctrine and disciplinary rules and considering the retentiveness of trained memories we have no reason to doubt that the doctrine and rules have been preserved without much loss⁵.

¹ E.g. Mahāv. I. 49 Dig. Nīk. I. 14, Sūt. Vib. Bhikkhuni, LXXI., Sūt. Vib. Pārā] III. 4. 4.

Cullav. IV. 15. 4.

Ang. Nīk. IV. 100. 5, It. V. LXXIV. 5.

² See Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II. p. 93.

³ Even at the time of Fa Hsien's visit to India (c. 400 A.D.) the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin school was preserved orally and not written. See Legge's trans. p. 99.

Not, however, without additions The disadvantage of oral tradition is not that it forgets but that it proceeds snowball fashion, adding with every generation new edifying matter The text of the Vedic hymns was preserved with such jealous care that every verse and syllable was counted But in works of lesser sanctity interpolations and additions were made according to the reciters' taste We cannot assign to the Mahâbhârata one date or author, and the title of Upanishad is no guarantee for the age or authenticity of the treatises that bear it Already in the Anguttara-Nikâya¹, we hear of tables of contents and the expression is important, for though we cannot give any more precise explanation of it, it shows that care was taken to check the contents of the works accepted as scripture But still there is little doubt that during the two or three centuries following the Buddha's death, there went on a process not only of collection and recension but also of composition

An account of the formation of the canon is given in the last two chapters of the Cullavagga² After the death of the Buddha his disciples met to decide what should be regarded as the correct doctrine and discipline The only way to do that was to agree what had been the utterances of the master and this, in a country where the oral transmission of teaching was so well understood, amounted to laying the foundations of a canon Kassapa cross-examined experts as to the Buddha's precepts For the rules of discipline Upâli was the chief authority and we read how he was asked where such and such a rule—for instance, the commandment against stealing—was promulgated

“At Râjagaha, sir ”

“Concerning whom was it spoken? ”

“Dhaniya, the potter's son ”

“In regard to what matter? ”

“The taking of that which had not been given ”

For collecting the suttas they relied on the testimony of Ânanda and asked him where the Brahmajâla³ was spoken He replied “between Râjagaha and Nâlanda at the royal rest-house at Ambalatthika ” “Concerning whom was it spoken? ”

¹ Ang Nik. iv 160 5, Bhikkhû bahussutâ mâtikâdhârâ monks who carry in memory the indices

² Cullavag. xi., xii

³ Dig Nik. i

company of Bhikkhus no one knows the Pâtimokkha, one of the younger brethren should be sent to some better instructed monastery to learn it. And further we hear¹ that a learned Bhikkhu was expected to know not merely the precepts of the Pâtimokkha but also the occasion when each was formulated. The place, the circumstances and the people concerned had been in each case handed down. There is here all the material for a narrative. The reciter of a sutta simply adopts the style of a village story-teller. "Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was dwelling at Râjagaha," or wherever it was, and such and such people came to see him. And then, after a more or less dramatic introduction, comes the Lord's discourse and at the end an epilogue saying how the hearers were edified and, if previously unconverted, took refuge in the true doctrine.

The Cullavagga states that the Vinaya (but not the other Pîtakas) was recited and verified at the Council of Vesâlî. As I have mentioned elsewhere, Sinhalese and Chinese accounts speak of another Council, the Mahâsangha or Mahâsangîti. Though its date is uncertain, there is a consensus of tradition to the effect that it recognized a canon of its own, different from our Pali Canon and containing a larger amount of popular matter.

Sinhalese tradition states that the canon as we now have it was fixed at the third Council held at Pataliputra in the reign of Asoka (about 272-232 B C). The most precise statements about this Council are those of Buddhaghosa who says that an assembly of monks who knew the three Pîtakas by heart recited the Vinaya and the Dhamma.

But the most important and interesting evidence as to the existence of Buddhist scriptures in the third century B C is afforded by the Bhâbrû (or Bhâbrâ) edict of Asoka. He recommends the clergy to study seven passages, of which nearly all can be identified in our present edition of the Pîtakas². This edict

¹ Cullav. ix. 5

² The passages are

- 1 The Vinaya Samukasa. Perhaps the sermon at Benares with introductory matter found at the beginning of the Mahâvagga. See Edmunds, in *J R A S* 1913, p. 385.
- 2 The Alha-Vâsânî (Pali Ariya-Vâsânî) = the Samgîti sutta of the Dîgha Nikâya.
- 3 The Anâgata-bhayânî = Anguttara-Nikâya, v. 77-80, or part of it.

The date of the Pali Abhidhamma is very doubtful and I do not reject the hypothesis that it was composed in Ceylon, for the Sinhalese seem to have a special taste for such literature. But there is no proof of this Sinhalese origin.

According to Sinhalese tradition all three Pitakas were introduced into Ceylon by Mahinda in the reign of Asoka, but only as oral tradition and not in a written form. They received this latter about 20 B C, as the result of a dispute between two monasteries¹. The controversy is obscure but it appears that the ancient foundation called Mahavihara accepted as canonical the fifth book of the Vinaya called Parivâra, whereas it was rejected by the new monastery called Abhayagiri. The Sinhalese chronicle (Mahavamsa xxxiii 100-104) says somewhat abruptly "The wise monks had hitherto handed down the text of the three Pitakas (Pitakattayapâlim) as well as the commentary by word of mouth. But seeing that mankind was becoming lost, they assembled together and wrote them in books in order that the faith might long endure." This brief account seems to mean that a council was held not by the whole clergy of Ceylon but by the monks of the Mahavihara at which they committed to writing their own version of the canon including the Parivâra. This book forms an appendix to the Vinaya Pitaka and in some verses printed at the conclusion is said to be the work of one Dîpa. It is generally accepted as a relatively late production, composed in Ceylon. If such a work was included in the canon of the Mahavihara, we must admit the possibility that other portions of it may be Sinhalese and not Indian.

But still the *onus probandi* lies with those who maintain the Sinhalese origin of any part of the Pali Canon and two strong arguments support the Indian origin of the major part. First, many suttas not only show an intimate knowledge of ancient Indian customs but discuss topics such as caste, sacrifice, ancient heresies, and the value of the Veda which would be of no interest to Sinhalese. Secondly, there is no Sinhalese local colour and no Sinhalese legends have been introduced. Contrast with this the Dîpa- and Mahâ-vamsa both of which open with accounts of mythical visits paid by the Buddha to Ceylon².

¹ For the date see the chapter on Ceylon.

² S. Lévi gives reasons for thinking that the prohibitions against singing sacred texts (ayataka gîtassara, Cullavag. v 3) go back to the period when the Vedic accent was a living reality. See *J A* 1915, i pp 401 ff.

In Ceylon versions of the scriptures other than that of the Mahāvihāra were current until the twelfth century when uniformity was enforced by Parākrama Bāhu. Some of these, for instance the Pīṭaka of the Votulyakas were decidedly heretical according to the standard of local orthodoxy but others probably presented variations of reading and arrangement rather than of doctrine. Anesaki¹ has compared with the received Pali text a portion of the Saṃyuktāgama translated by Guṇabhadra into Chinese. He thinks that the original was the text used by the Abhayagiri monastery and brought to China by Fa Hsien.

The Sinhalese ecclesiastical history, *Nikāya-Sangrahawa*, relates² that 235 years after the Buddha's death nine heretical fraternities were formed who proceeded to compose scriptures of their own such as the *Vaṃsapīṭaka* and *Angulimāla Pīṭaka*. Though this treatise is late (c. 1400 A.D.) its statements merit attention as showing that even in orthodox Ceylon tradition regarded the authorized Pīṭaka as one of several versions. But many of the works mentioned sound like late tantric texts rather than compositions of the early heretics to whom they are attributed.

Ecclesiastical opinion in Ceylon after centuries of discussion ended by accepting the edition of the Mahāvihāra as the best, and we have no grounds for rejecting or suspecting this opinion. According to tradition Buddhaghosa was well versed in Sanskrit but deliberately preferred the southern canon. The Mahayanist doctor Asaṅga cites texts found in the Pali version but not in the Sanskrit³. The monks of the Mahāvihāra were probably too indulgent in admitting late scholastic treatises such as the *Parivāra*. On the other hand they often showed a critical instinct in rejecting legendary matter. Thus the Sanskrit Vinayas contain many more miraculous narratives than the Pali Vinaya.

¹ *Museon* 1906 p. 23. Anesaki thinks the text used by Guṇabhadra was in Pali but the Abhayagiri, which had Mahayanist proclivities, may have used Sanskrit texts.

² *Nikāya-Sangrahawa*. Fernando, Govt. Record Office, Colombo, 1918.
See *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, xvi, 22 and 75, with Lévi's notes.

4

European critics have rarely occasion to discuss the credibility of Sanskrit literature, for most of it is so poetic or so speculative that no such question arises. But the Pitakas raise this question as directly as the Gospels, for they give the portrait of a man and the story of a life, in which an overgrowth of the miraculous has not hidden or destroyed the human substratum. How far can we accept them as a true picture of what Gotama was and taught?

Their credibility must be judged by the standard of Indian oral tradition. Its greatest fault comes from that deficiency in historic sense which we have repeatedly noticed. Hindu chroniclers ignore important events and what they record drifts by in a haze in which proportion, connection, and dates are lost. They frequently raise a structure of fiction on a slight basis of fact or on no basis at all. But the fiction is generally so obvious that the danger of historians in the past has been not to be misled by it but to ignore the elements of truth which it may contain. For the Hindus have a good verbal memory, their genealogies, lists of kings and places generally prove to be correct and they have a passion for catalogues of names. Also they take a real interest in describing doctrine. If the Buddha has been misrepresented, it is not for want of acumen or power of transmitting abstruse ideas. The danger rather is that he who takes an interest in theology is prone to interpret a master's teaching in the light of his own pet views.

The Pitakas illustrate the strong and weak points of Hindu tradition. The feebleness of the historical sense may be seen in the account of Devadatta's doings in the Cullavagga¹ where the compiler seems unable to give a clear account of what he must have regarded as momentous incidents. Yet the same treatise is copious and lucid in dealing with monastic rules, and the sayings recorded have an air of authenticity. In the suttas the strong side of Hindu memory is brought into play. Of consecutive history there is no question. We have only an introduction giving the names of some characters and localities followed by a discourse. We know from the Vinaya that the monks were expected to exercise themselves in remembering

¹ Cullav. vii. 3

that their form is determined primarily by the convenience of the memory. We must not compare them with Plato and find them wanting, for often, especially in the *Abhidhamma*, there is no intention of producing a work of art, but merely of subdividing a subject and supplying explanations. Frequently the exposition is thrown into the form of a catechism with questions and answers arranged so as to correspond to numbered categories. Thus a topic may be divided into twenty heads and six propositions may be applied to each with positive or negative results. The strong point of these *Abhidhamma* works—and of Buddhist philosophy generally—lies in careful division and acute analysis but the power of definition is weak. Rarely is a definition more than a collection of synonyms and very often the word to be defined is repeated in the definition. Thus in the *Dhamma-sangani* the questions, what are good or bad states of mind? receive answers cast in the form when a good or bad thought has arisen with certain accompaniments enumerated at length, then these are the states that are good or bad. No definition of good is given.

This mnemonic literature attains its highest excellence in poetry. The art of composing short poems in which a thought, emotion or spiritual experience is expressed with a few simple but pregnant words in the compass of a single couplet or short hymn, was carried by the early Buddhists to a perfection which has never been excelled. The *Dhammapada*¹ is the best known specimen of this literature. Being an anthology it is naturally more suited for quotation or recitation in sections than for continuous reading. But its twenty-five chapters are consecrated each to some special topic which receives fairly consecutive treatment, though each chapter is a mosaic of short poems consisting of one or more verses supposed to have been uttered by the Buddha or by arhats on various occasions. The whole work combines literary beauty, depth of thought and human feeling in a rare degree. Not only is it irradiated with the calm light of peace, faith and happiness but it glows with sympathy, with the desire to do good and help those who are struggling in the mire of passion and delusion. For this reason it has found more favour with European readers than the detached and

¹ The Pali anthology known by this name was only one of several called *Dhammapada* or *Udāna* which are preserved in the Chinese and Tibetan Canons.

philosophic texts which simply preach self-conquest and aloofness. Inferior in beauty but probably older is the *Sutta-nipāta* a collection of short discourses or conversations with the Buddha mostly in verse. The rugged and popular language of these stanzas which reject speculation as much as luxury takes us back to the life of the wanderers who followed the Buddha on his tours and we may imagine that poems like the *Dhāniya* sutta would be recited when they met together in a rest-house or grove set apart for their use on the outskirts of a village.

The Buddhist suttas are interesting as being a special result of Gotama's activity: they are not analogous to the Brahmanic works called *sūtras* and they have no close parallel in later Indian literature. There is little personal background in the Upanishads, none at all in the *Sāṅkhya* and *Vedānta sūtras*. But the *Sutta Pitaka* is an attempt to delineate a personality as well as to record a doctrine. Though the idea of writing biography has not yet been clearly conceived, yet almost every discourse brings before us the figure of the Lord: though the doctrine can be detached from the preacher yet one feels that the hearers of the *Pitaka* hungered not merely for a knowledge of the four truths but for the very words of the great voice: did he really say this and if so when, where and why? Most suttas begin by answering these questions. They describe a scene and report a discourse and in so doing they create a type of literature with an interest and individuality of its own. It is no exaggeration to say that the Buddha is the most living figure in Hindu literature. He stands before us more distinctly not only than *Yājñavalkya* and *Śaṅkara* but than modern teachers like *Nanak* and *Rāmaṇuja* and the reason of this distinctness can I think be nothing but the personal impression which he made on his age. The later Buddhists compose nothing in the style of the *Nikāyas*: they write about Gotama in new and fanciful ways but no Acts of the Apostles succeed the Gospels.

Though the Buddhist suttas are *sui generis* and mark a new epoch in Indian literature yet in style they are a natural development of the Upanishads. The Upanishads are less dogmatic and show much less interest in the personality of their sages but they contain dialogues closely analogous to suttas.

Thus about half of the Brihad-Âranyaka is a philosophic treatise unconnected with any particular name, but in this are set five dialogues in which Yâjñavalkya appears and two others in which Ajâtaśatru and Pravâhana Jaivali are the protagonists.

Though many suttas are little more than an exposition of some doctrine arranged in mnemonic form, others show eloquence and dramatic skill. Thus the Sâmaññaphala-sutta opens with a vivid description of the visit paid one night by Ajâtasattu to the Buddha¹. We see the royal procession of elephants and share the alarm of the suspicious king at the unearthly stillness of the monastery park, until he saw the Buddha sitting in a lighted pavilion surrounded by an assembly of twelve hundred and fifty brethren, calm and silent as a clear lake. The king's long account of his fruitless quest for truth would be tiresome if it were not of such great historic interest and the same may be said of the Buddha's enumeration of superstitious and reprehensible practices, but from this point onwards his discourse is a magnificent crescendo of thought and language, never halting and illustrated by metaphors of great effect and beauty. Equally forcible and surely resting on some tradition of the Buddha's own words is the solemn fervour which often marks the suttas of the Majjhima such as the descriptions of his struggle for truth, the admonitions to Râhula and the reproof administered to Sâti.

5

As mentioned above, our Pali Canon is the recension of the Vibhajjavâdins. We know from the records of the Chinese pilgrims that other schools also had recensions of their own, and several of these recensions—such as those of the Sarvâstivâdins, Mahâsanghikas, Mahîsâsakas, Dhammaguttikas, and Sammitîyas—are still partly extant in Chinese and Tibetan translations. These appear to have been made from the Sanskrit and fragments of what was probably the original have been preserved in Central Asia. A recension of the text in Sanskrit probably implies less than what we understand by a translation. It may mean that texts handed down in some Indian dialect

¹ The work might also be analyzed as consisting of three old documents (the tract on morality, an account of ancient heresies, and a discourse on spiritual progress) put together with a little connecting matter, and provided with a prologue and epilogue.

which was neither Sanskrit nor Pali were rewritten with Sanskrit orthography and inflexions while preserving much of the original vocabulary. The Buddha allowed all men to learn his teaching in their own language and different schools are said to have written the scriptures in different dialects *e.g.* the Mahāsāṅghikas in a kind of Prakrit not further specified and the Mahāsammattiyas in Apabhraṃsa. When Sanskrit became the recognized vehicle for literary composition there would naturally be in India (though not in Ceylon) a tendency to rewrite books composed in other dialects¹. The idea that when any important matter is committed to writing it should be expressed in a literary dialect not too intelligible to the vulgar is prevalent from Morocco to China. The language of Bengal illustrates what may have happened to the Buddhist scriptures. It is said that at the beginning of the nineteenth century ninety per cent of the vocabulary of Bengali was Sanskrit and the grammatical construction Sanskritized as well. Though the literary language now-a-days is less artificial it still differs widely from the vernacular. Similarly the spoken word of the Buddha was forced into conformity with one literary standard or another and ecclesiastical Pali became as artificial as Sanskrit. The same incidents may be found worked up in both languages. Thus the Sanskrit version of the story of Pūrṇā in the Divyāvadāna repeats what is found in Pali in the Saṃyutta Nikāya² and reappears in Sanskrit in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka has been catalogued and we possess some information respecting the books which it contains though none of them have been edited in Europe. Thus we know something³ of the Sarvāstivādin recension of the Abhidhamma. Like the Pali version it consists of seven books of which one the Jñāna-prasthāna by Kātyāyanīputra is regarded as the principal the rest being supplementary. All the books are attributed to human authors and though some of these bear the names of the Buddha's immediate disciples tradition connects Kātyāyanīputra with Kanishka's council. This is not

¹ But in Ceylon there was a decided tendency to rewrite Sinhalese treatises in Pali.

² Cf. Divyāvad. Cowell, p. 37 and Sam. Nik. P.T.S. edition, vol. iv p. 60.

³ See Takakura on the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivādins in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1906, pp. 67-147.

a very certain date, but still the inference is that about the time of the Christian era the contents of the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka were not rigidly defined and a new recension was possible

The Sanskrit manuscripts discovered in Central Asia include Sūtras from the Samyukta and Ekottara Āgamas (equivalent to the Samyutta and Anguttara Nikāyas), a considerable part of the Dharmapada, fragments of the Sutta-Nipāta and the Prātimoksha of the Sarvāstivādin school. These correspond fairly well with the Pali text but represent another recension and a somewhat different arrangement. We have therefore here fragments of a Sanskrit version which must have been imported to Central Asia from northern India and covers, so far as the fragments permit us to judge, the same ground as the Vinaya and Suttas of the Pali Canon. Far from displaying the diffuse and inflated style which characterizes the Mahāyāna texts it is sometimes shorter and simpler than our Pali version¹

When was this version composed and what is its relation to the Pali? A definite reply would be premature, for other Sanskrit texts may be discovered in Central Asia, but two circumstances connect this early Buddhist literature in Sanskrit with the epoch of Kanishka. Firstly the Sanskrit Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins seems to date from his council and secondly a Buddhist drama by Aśvaghoṣa² of about the same time represents the Buddha as speaking in Sanskrit whereas the inferior characters speak Prakrit. But these facts do not prove that Sanskrit was not the language of the canon at an earlier date³ and it is not safe to conclude that because Asoka did not employ it for writing edicts it was not the sacred language of any section of Indian Buddhists. On the other hand some of the Sanskrit texts contain indications that they are a translation from Pali or some vernacular⁴. In others are found historical allusions which suggest that they must have received additions after our era⁵

¹ But not always. See S. Lévi, *J A* 1910, p. 436

² See Luders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, 1911 and ib. *Das Śāriputra-prakarana*, 1911

³ Inscriptions from Swat written in an alphabet supposed to date from 50 B C to 50 A D contain Sanskrit verses from the Dharmapada and Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. See *Epig Indica*, vol. iv p. 133

⁴ E.g. The Sanskrit version of the Sutta Nipāta. See *J R A S* 1916, pp. 719-732

⁵ See the remarks on the Samyuktāgama in *J A* 1916, ii p. 272

CHAPTER XIV

MEDITATION

INDIAN religions lay stress on meditation. It is not merely commended as a useful exercise but by common consent it takes rank with sacrifice and prayer, or above them, as one of the great activities of the religious life, or even as its only true activity. It has the full approval of philosophy as well as of theology. In early Buddhism it takes the place of prayer and worship and though in later times ceremonies multiply, it still remains the main occupation of a monk. The Jains differ from the Buddhists chiefly in emphasizing the importance of self-mortification, which is put on a par with meditation. In Hinduism, as might be expected in a fluctuating compound of superstition and philosophy, the schools differ as to the relative efficacy of meditation and ceremonial, but there is a strong tendency to give meditation the higher place. In all ages a common characteristic appears in the most divergent Indian creeds—the belief that by a course of mental and physical training the soul can attain to a state of bliss which is the prelude to the final deliverance attained after death.

1

We may begin by examining Brahmanic ideas as to meditation. Many of them are connected with the word *Yoga*, which has become familiar to Europe. It has two meanings. It is applied first to a definite form of Indian philosophy which is a theistic modification of the *Sâṅkhya* and secondly to much older practices sanctioned by that philosophy but anterior to it.

The idea which inspires these theories and practices is that the immaterial soul can by various exercises free itself from the fetters of matter. The soul is distinguished from the mind which, though composed of the subtlest matter, is still material. This presupposes the duality of matter and spirit taught by Jainism and the *Sâṅkhya* philosophy, but it does not necessarily presuppose the special doctrines of either nor do Vedântists

object to the practice of the Yoga. The systematic prosecution of mental concentration and the idea that supernatural powers can be acquired thereby are very old—certainly older than Buddhism. Such methods had not first only a slight philosophic substratum and were independent of Sāṅkhya doctrines, though these, being a speculative elaboration of the same fundamental principles, naturally commended themselves to those who practised Yoga. The two teachers of the Buddha, Ālāra and Uddaka, were Yogis and held that beatitude or emancipation consisted in the attainment of certain trances. Gotama, while regarding their doctrine as insufficient, did not reject their practices.

Our present Yoga Sūtras are certainly much later than this date. They are ascribed to one Patañjali identified by Hindu tradition with the author of the Mahābhāṣya who lived about 150 B.C. Jacobi¹ however is of opinion that they are the work of an entirely different person who lived after the rise of the philosophy ascribed to Asaṅga sometimes called Yogācāra. Jacobi's arguments seem to me suggestive rather than conclusive but, if they are confirmed, they lead to an interesting deduction. There is some reason for thinking that Śāṅkara's doctrine of illusion was derived from the Buddhist Sūnyavāda. If Patañjali's sūtras are posterior to Asaṅga it also seems probable that the codification of the Yoga by the Brahmans was connected with the rise of the Yogācāra among the Buddhists.²

The Sūtras describe themselves as an exposition of Yoga which has here the meaning not of union with God but rather of effort. The opening aphorisms state that "Yoga is the suppression of the activities of the mind for then the spectator abides in his own form at other times there is identity of form with the activities." This dark language means that the soul in its true nature is merely the spectator of the mind's activity—consciousness being duo, as in the Sāṅkhya to the union of the soul with the mind³ which is its organ. When the mind is active,

¹ See *J.A.O.S.* Dec. 1910, p. 24.

² Jacobi considers the Yoga Sūtras later than 480 A.D. but if we adopt Péri's view that Vasubandhu, Asaṅga's brother, lived from about 280-300 the fact that they imply a knowledge of the Vijñānavāda need not make them much later than 300 A.D. It is noticeable that both Asaṅga and the Yoga Sūtras employ the word *dharmamegha*.

³ Called *Citta* in the Yoga philosophy.

the soul appears to experience various emotions, and it is only when the mind ceases to feel emotions and becomes calm in meditation, that the soul abides in its own true form. The object of the Yoga, as of the Sâmkhya, is Kaivalya or isolation, in which the soul ceases to be united with the mind and is dissociated from all qualities (gunas) so that the shadow of the thinking principle no longer falls upon it. This isolation is produced by performing certain exercises, physical as well as mental, and, as a prelude to final and complete emancipation, superhuman powers are acquired. These two ideas, the efficacy of physical discipline and the acquisition of superhuman powers, have powerfully affected all schools of religious thought in India, including Buddhism. They are not peculiar to the Yoga, but still it is in the Yoga Sûtras that they find their most authoritative and methodical exposition.

The practice of Yoga has its roots in the fact that fasting and other physical mortifications induce a mental state in which the subject thinks that he has supernatural experiences¹. Among many savage tribes, especially in America, such fasts are practised by those who desire communication with spirits. In the Yoga philosophy these ideas appear in a refined form and offer many parallels to European mysticism. The ultimate object is to dissociate the soul from its material envelopes but in the means prescribed we can trace two orders of ideas. One is to mortify the body and suppress not only appetite and passion but also discursive thought; the other is to keep the body in perfect health and ease, so that the intelligence and ultimately the soul may be untroubled by physical influences. These two ideas are less incongruous than they seem. Many examples show that extreme forms of asceticism are not unhealthy but rather conducive to long life and the Yoga in endeavouring to secure physical well-being does not aim at pleasure but at such a purification of the physical part of man that it shall be the obedient and unnoticed servant of the other parts. The branch of the system which deals with method and discipline is called Kriyâ-yoga and in later works we also find the expression Haṭha-yoga, which is specially used to designate

¹ See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. II pp. 410 ff. Savages often supplement fasting by the use of drugs and the Yoga Sûtras (IV 1) mention that supernatural powers can be obtained by the use of herbs.

applies to many of the postures recommended, for considerable training is necessary to make them even tolerable. But the object clearly is to prescribe an attitude which can be maintained continuously without creating the distracting feeling of physical discomfort and in this matter European and oriental limbs feel differently. All the postures contemplated are different ways of sitting cross-legged. Later works revel in enumerations of them and also recognize others called *Mudrâ*. This word is specially applied to a gesture of the hand but is sometimes used in a less restricted sense. Thus there is a celebrated *Mudrâ* called *Khecharî*, in which the tongue is reversed and pressed into the throat while the sight is directed to a point between the eyebrows. This is said to induce the cataleptic trance in which Yogis can be buried alive.

4 *Prânayama* or regulation of the breath. When the Yogi has learnt to assume a permanent posture, he accustoms himself to regulate the acts of inspiration and expiration so as to prolong the period of quiescence between the two. He will thus remove the veils which cover the light within him. This practice probably depends on the idea which constantly crops up in the Upanishads that the breath is the life and the soul. Consequently he who can control and hold his breath keeps his soul at home, and is better able to concentrate his mind. Apart from such ideas, the fixing of the attention on the rhythmical succession of inspirations and expirations conduces to that peaceful and detached frame of mind on which most Indian sects set great store. The practice was greatly esteemed by the Brahmans, and is also enjoined among the Taoists in China and among Buddhists in all countries, but I have found no mention of its use among European mystics.

5 *Pratyâhâra*, the retraction or withdrawing of the senses. They are naturally directed outwards towards their objects. The Yogi endeavours to bring them into quiescence by diverting them from those objects and directing them inwards. From this, say the *Sûtras*, comes complete subjugation of the senses¹.

6-8 The five kinds of discipline hitherto mentioned constitute the physical preparation for meditation comprising in

¹ It seems to me analogous to the *introversion* of European mystics. See Underhill, *Mysticism*, chaps. VI. and VII.

succession (a) a morality of renunciation, (b) mortification and purification (c) suitable postures (d) regulation of the breathing (e) diversion of the senses from their external objects. Now comes the intellectual part of the process consisting of three stages called Dhāraṇā Dhyāna and Samādhi. Dhāraṇā means fixing the mind on a particular object either a part of the body such as the crown of the head or something external such as the sky. Dhyāna¹ is the continuous intellectual state arising out of this concentration. It is defined as an even current of thought undisturbed by other thoughts. Samādhi is a further stage of Dhyāna in which the mind becomes so identified with the thing thought of that consciousness of its separate existence ceases. The thinking power is merged in the single thought and ultimately a state of trance is induced. Several stages are distinguished in this Samādhi. It is divided into conscious and unconscious² and of the conscious kind there are four grades³ analogous though not entirely corresponding to the four Jhānas of Buddhism. When the feeling of joy passes away and is lost in a higher sense of equanimity there comes the state known by the remarkable name of Dharma megha⁴ in which the isolation of the soul and its absolute distinctness from matter (which includes what we call mind) is realized and karma is no more. After the state of Dharma megha comes that of unconscious Samādhi in which the Yogi falls into a trance and attains emancipation which is made permanent by death.

The methods of the Kriyā yoga can be employed for the attainment not only of salvation but of miraculous powers⁵. This subject is discussed in the third book of the Yoga Sūtras.

¹ Jhāna in Pali.

² Samprajñāta and Asamprajñāta called also sa and nirliṅga, with and without seed.

³ Savitarka and Savicāra in which there is investigation concerned with gross and subtle objects respectively; Śānanda, in which there is a feeling of joy; Saśmitā, in which there is only self-consciousness. The corresponding stages in Buddhism are described as phases of Jhāna not of Samādhi.

⁴ It is not easy to translate. *Megha* is cloud and *dharma* may be rendered by righteousness but has many other meanings. For the metaphor of the cloud compare the title of the English mystical treatise *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

⁵ Siddhi, vibhūti alāyarya. A belief in these powers is found even in the Rig Veda where it is said (x. 136) that munis can fly through the air and associate with gods.

where it is said that such powers are obstructions in the contemplative and spiritual life, though they may lead to success in waking or worldly life. This is the same point of view as we meet in Buddhism, viz. that though the miraculous powers resulting from meditation are real, they are not essential to salvation and may become dangerous hindrances¹

They are attained according to the Yoga Sûtras by the exercise of samyama which is the name given conjointly to the three states of dhâranâ, dhyâna and samâdhi when they are applied simultaneously or in immediate succession to one object of thought². The reader will remember that this state of contemplation is to be preceded by pratyâhâra, or direction of the senses inwards, in which ordinary external stimuli are not felt. It is analogous to the hypnotic state in which suggestions made by the hypnotizer have for the subject the character of reality although he is not conscious of his surroundings, and auto-suggestions—that is the expectations with which the Yogi begins his meditation—apparently have the same effect. The trained Yogi is able to exercise samyama with regard to any idea—that is to say his mind becomes identified with that idea to the exclusion of all others. Sometimes this samyama implies simply a thorough comprehension of the object of meditation. Thus by making samyama on the samskâras or predispositions existing in the mind, a knowledge of one's previous births is obtained, by making samyama on sound, the language of animals is understood. But in other cases a result is considered to be obtained because the Yogi in his trance thinks it is obtained. Thus if samyama is made on the throat, hunger and thirst are subdued, if on the strength of an elephant, that strength is obtained, if on the sun, the knowledge of all worlds

¹ So too European mystics "are all but unanimous in their refusal to attribute importance to any kind of visionary experience" (Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 335). St John of the Cross, Madame Guyon and Walter Hilton are cited as severe critics of such experience.

² Cf. Underhill's remarks about contemplation (*Mysticism*, p. 394): "Its results feed every aspect of the personality minister to its instinct for the Good, the Beautiful and the True. Psychologically it is an induced state in which the field of consciousness is greatly contracted: the whole of the self, its conative power, being sharply focussed, concentrated upon one thing. We pour ourselves out or, as it sometimes seems to us, *in* towards this overpowering interest: seem to ourselves to reach it and be merged with it. Whatever the thing may be, in this act we *know* it, as we cannot know it by any ordinary devices of thought."

is acquired. Other miraculous attainments are such that they should be visible to others but are probably explicable as subjective fancies. Such are the powers of becoming heavy or light, infinitely large or infinitely small and of emitting flames. This last phenomenon is perhaps akin to the luminous visions called photisms by psychologists which not infrequently accompany conversion and other religious experiences and take the form of flashes or rays proceeding from material objects.¹ The Yogi can even become many persons instead of one by calling into existence other bodies by an effort of his will and animating them all by his own mind.²

Europeans are unfavourably impressed by the fact that the Yoga devotees much time to the cultivation of hypnotic states of doubtful value both for morality and sanity. But the meditation which it teaches is also akin to aesthetic contemplation when the mind forgets itself and is conscious only of the beauty of what is contemplated. Schopenhauer³ has well expressed the Indian idea in European language. When some sudden cause or inward disposition lifts us out of the endless stream of willing the attention is no longer directed to the motives of willing but comprehends things free from their relation to the will and thus observes them without subjectivity purely objectively, gives itself entirely up to them so far as they are ideas but not in so far as they are motives. Then all at once the peace which we were always seeking but which always fled from us on the former path of the desires comes to us of its own accord and it is well with us'. And though the Yoga Sûtras represent superhuman faculties as depending chiefly on the hypnotic condition of samyama they also say that they are obtainable—at any rate such of them as consist in superhuman knowledge—by *pratibhâ* or illumination. By this term is meant a state of enlightenment which suddenly floods the mind prepared by the Yoga discipline. It precedes emancipation as the morning star precedes the dawn. When

¹ See instances quoted in W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 251-2.

² This curious idea is also countenanced though not much emphasized, by the *Brahma Sûtras*, iv. 4. 16. The object of producing such bodies is to work off Karma. The Yogi acquires no new Karma but he may have to get rid of accumulated Karma inherited from previous births, which must bear fruit. By "making himself many" he can work it off in one lifetime.

³ *World as Will and Idea*, Book III, p. 264 (Haldane and Kemp's translation).

this light has once come, the Yogi possesses all knowledge without the process of samyama. It may be compared to the Dibba-cakkhu or divine eye and the knowledge of the truths which according to the Pitakas¹ precede arhatship. Similar instances of sudden intellectual enlightenment are recorded in the experiences of mystics in other countries. We may compare the haplosis or ekstasis of Plotinus and the visions of St Theresa or St Ignatius in which such mysteries as the Trinity became clear, as well as the raptures in which various Christian mystics² experienced the feeling of levitation and thought that they were being literally carried off their feet.

The practices and theories which are systematized in the Yoga Sûtras are known to the Upanishads, particularly those of the Atharva Veda. But even the earlier Upanishads allude to the special physical and mental discipline necessary to produce concentration of mind. The Maitrâyaṇa Upanishad says that the sixfold Yoga consists of restraint of the breath, restraint of the senses, meditation, fixed attention, investigation, absorption. The Śvetâśvatara Upanishad speaks of the proper places and postures for meditation, and the Chândogya³ of concentrating all the senses on the self, a process which is much the same as the pratyâhâra of the Yoga.

A later and mysterious but most important method of Yoga is known to the Tantras⁴ as Shatcakrabheda or piercing of the six cakras. These are dynamic or nervous centres distributed through the human body from the base of the spinal cord to the eyebrows. In the lowest of them resides the Devî Kundalinî, a force identical with Śakti, who is the motive power of the universe. In ordinary conditions this Kundalinî is pictured as lying asleep and coiled like a serpent. But appropriate exercises cause her to awake and ascend until she reaches the highest cakra when she unites with Śiva and ineffable bliss.

¹ *E g* Dig. Nik. II. 95, etc.

² St Theresa, St Catharine of Siena and Rudman Merswin. Cf. 1 John II. 20, 27 'Ye know all things'.

³ Chândog. Up. VIII. 15.

⁴ As also to the Samhitâs of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Āgamic literature of the Śaivas. The six cakras are (1) Mûladhâra at the base of the spinal cord, (2) Svâdhisthâna below the navel, (3) Manipûra near the navel, (4) Anâhata in the heart, (5) Viśuddha at the lower end of the throat, (6) Âjûâ between the eyebrows. See Avalon, *Tantric Texts*, II. Shatcakraṇirûpana. *Ib* *Tantra of Great Liberation*, pp. 171 ff. cxxxii ff. *Ib* *Principles of Tantra*, pp. cvii ff. Gopinatha Ras, *Indian Iconography*, pp. 328 ff. See also "Manual of a Mystic" (*Pali Text Soc.*) for something apparently similar, though not very intelligible, in Hinayanist Buddhism.

and emancipation are attained. The process which is said to be painful and even dangerous to health, is admittedly unintelligible without oral instruction from a Guru and, as I have not had this advantage, I will say no more on the topic except this, that strange and fanciful as the descriptions of Shaṣṭak rabhedas may seem they can hardly be pure inventions but must have a real counterpart in nervous phenomena which apparently have not been studied by European physiologists or psychologists¹

2

When we turn to the treatment of meditation and ecstasy in the earlier Buddhist writings we are struck by its general resemblance to the programme laid down in the Yoga Sūtras and by many coincidences of detail. The exercises, rules of conduct and the powers to be incidentally obtained are all similar. The final goal of both systems also seems similar to the outsider although a Buddhist and a Yogi might have much to say about the differences for the Yoga wishes to isolate a soul which is complete and happy in its own nature if it can be disentangled from its trammels whereas Buddhism teaches that there is no such soul awaiting release and that religious discipline should create and foster good mental states. Just as the atmosphere of the Pīṭakas is not that of the Brahmanas or Sūtras so are their ideas about Jhāna and Samādhi somewhat different. Though hypnotic and even cataleptic phases are not wanting the journey of the religious life as described in the Pīṭakas is a progress of increasing peace but also of increasing intellectual power and activity. Gotama did not hold Jhāna or regulated meditation to be essential to nirvana or arhatship for that state was attainable by laymen and apparently through sudden illumination. But such cases were the exception. His own mental evolution which culminated in enlightenment comprised the four Jhānas². Also in the eightfold path which is essential to arhatship and nirvana the last and highest stage is sammāsamādhi right rapture or ecstasy.

¹ For the later Yoga see further Book v. I have recently received A. Avalon, *The Serpent Power* from which it appears that the danger of the process lies in the fact that as Kuṇḍalinī ascends, the lower parts of the body which she leaves become cold. The preliminary note on Yoga in Grierson and Barnett's *Lalit Vākyāni* (*Asiat. Soc. Monographs* vol. xvii. 1920) contains much valuable information but both works arrived too late for me to make use of them.

² Maj. Nik. 36 and 86, but not in 26.

Jhâna is difficult for laymen, but it was the rule of the order to devote at least the afternoon to it. We might compare this with the solitary prayer of Christians, and there is real similarity in the process and the result. It brought peace and strength to the mind and we hear of the bright clear faces and the radiantly happy expression of those who returned to their duties after such contemplation. But Christian prayer involves the idea of self-surrender and throwing open the doors and windows of the soul to an influence which streams into it. Buddhist meditation is rather the upsoaring of the mind which rises from ecstasy to ecstasy until it attains not some sphere where it can live *in* bliss but a state which is in itself satisfying and all-comprising.

All mental states to which such names as ecstasy, trance, and vision can be applied involve a dangerous element which, if not actually pathological, can easily become so. But the account of meditation put in the Buddha's own mouth does not suggest either morbid dejection or hysterical excitement¹ and it is stated expressly that the exercise should be begun after the midday meal so that any visions which may come cannot be laid to the charge of an empty stomach. Jhâna is not the same as Samâdhi or concentration, though the Jhânas may be an instance of Samâdhi. This latter is capable of marvellous extension and development, but essentially it is a mental quality like Sammâsati or right mindfulness, whereas Jhâna is a mental exercise or progressive rapture passing through defined stages.

Any system which analyzes and tabulates stages of contemplation and ecstasy may be suspected of being late and of having lost something of the glow and impetus which its cold formulæ try to explain. But the impulse to catalogue is old in Buddhism² and one important distinction in the various mental states lumped together under the name of meditation deserves attention, namely that according to the oldest documents some of them are indispensable preliminaries to nirvana and some are not. Buddhaghosa reviewing the whole matter in scholastic

¹ Dig. Nik. 2. For the methods of Buddhist meditation, the reader may consult the "Manual of a Mystic," edited (1896) and translated (1916) by the *Pali Text Society*. But he will not find it easy reading.

² See Ang. Nik. 1. 20 for a long list of the various kinds of meditation. A conspectus of the system of meditation is given in Seidenstucker, *Pali-Buddhismus*, pp. 344-356.

fashion in his Way of Purity divides the higher life into three sections firstly conduct or morality as necessary foundation secondly *adhicitta* higher consciousness or concentration which leads to *samatho* or peace and thirdly *adhipaññā* or the higher wisdom which leads to *vipassanā* or insight. Of these *adhipaññā* and *vipassanā* are superior inasmuch as nirvana cannot be obtained without them but the methods of *adhicitta* though admirable and followed by the Buddha himself are not equally indispensable they lead to peace and happiness but not necessarily to nirvana. It is probably unwise (at any rate for Europeans) to make too precise statements for we do not really know the nature of the psychical states discussed. *Adhipaññā* assuredly includes the eightfold path ending with *samādhi* which is defined by the Buddha himself in this connection in terms of the four *Jhānas*¹. On the other hand the doctrine that nirvana is attainable merely by practising the *Jhānas* is expressly reprobated as a heresy². The teaching of the Pitakas seems to be that nirvana is attainable by living the higher life in which meditation and insight both have a place. In normal saints both sides are developed raptures and trances are their delight and luxury. But in some cases nirvana may be obtained by insight only. In others meditation may lead to ecstasy and more than human powers of mind but yet stop short of nirvana. The distinction is not without importance for it means that knowledge and insight are indispensable for nirvana. It cannot be obtained by hypnotic trances or magical powers.

The Buddha is represented as saying that in his boyhood when sitting under a tree he once fell into a state of contemplation which he calls the first *Jhāna*. It is akin to a sensation which comes to Europeans most frequently in childhood but sometimes persists in mature life when the mind usually under the influence of pleasant summer scenery, seems to identify itself with nature, and on returning to its normal state asks with surprise can it be that what seems a small distant personality is really I? The usual form of *Jhāna* comprises four stages³. The first is a state of joy and ease born of detachment, which

¹ Dig. Nik. xxii. *ad. in.*

² Dig. Nik. i. 21-26.

³ See, for instance, Dig. Nik. ii. 75. Sometimes five *Jhānas* are enumerated. This means that reasoning and investigation are eliminated successively and not simultaneously so that an additional stage is created.

means physical calm as well as the absence of worldly desires and irrelevant thoughts. It is distinguished from the subsequent stages by the existence of reasoning and investigation, and while it lasts the mind is compared to water agitated by waves. In the second Jhâna reasoning and investigation cease, the water becomes still and the mind set free rises slowly above the thoughts which had encumbered it and grows calm and sure, dwelling on high¹. In this Jhâna the sense of joy and ease remains, but in the third stage joy disappears, though ease remains. This ease (*sukham*) is the opposite of *dukkham*, the discomfort which characterizes all ordinary states of existence. It is in part a physical feeling, for the text says that he who meditates has this sense of ease in his body. But this feeling passes away in the fourth Jhâna, in which there is only a sense of equanimity. This word, though perhaps the best rendering which can be found for the Pali *upekkhâ*, is inadequate for it suggests merely the absence of inclination, whereas *upekkhâ* represents a state of mind which, though rising above hedonistic views, is yet positive and not merely the negation of interest and desire.

In the passage quoted the Buddha speaks as if only an effort of will were needed to enter into the first Jhâna, but tradition, supported by the Pitakas², sanctions the use of expedients to facilitate the process. Some are topics on which attention should be concentrated, others are external objects known as *Kasina*. This word (equivalent to the Sanskrit *kṛtsna*) means entire or total, and hence something which engrosses the attention. Thus in the procedure known as the earth *Kasina*³ the *Bhikkhu* who wishes to enter into the Jhâna makes a small circle of reddish clay, and then gazes at it fixedly. After a time he can see it as plainly when his eyes are closed as when they are open⁴. This is followed by entry into Jhâna and he should not continue looking at the circle. There are ten kinds of *Kasina* differing from that described merely in substituting for the earthen circle

¹ See *Dhamma-Saṅgani*, Mrs Rhys Davids' translation, pp. 45-6 and notes. Also *Journal of Pali Text Society*, 1885, p. 32, for meaning of the difficult word *Ekodibhâva*.

² *E.g.* Maj. Nik. 77, Ang. Nik. 1. xx. 63.

³ Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 252 ff.

⁴ But also without shape, colour or outward appearance, so this statement must not be taken too literally.

some other object such as water, light gold or silver. The whole procedure is clearly a means of inducing a hypnotic trance¹

The practice of tranquillizing the mind by regulating the breathing is recommended repeatedly in Suttas which seem ancient and authentic for instance in the instruction given by the Buddha to his son Rāhula². On the other hand his account of his fruitless self mortification shows that the exercise even in its extreme forms is not sufficient to secure enlightenment. It appears to be a method of collecting and concentrating the mind not necessarily hypnotic. All Indian precepts and directions for mental training attach far more importance to concentration of thought and the power of applying the mind at will to one subject exclusively than is usual in Europe.

Buddhaghosa at the beginning of his discussion of *adhicitta* enumerates forty subjects of meditation namely the ten kasinas ten impurities ten reflections four sublime states (Brahmā vihāra) the four formless states one perception and one analysis³. The kasinas have been already described. The ten impurities are a similar means of inducing meditation. The monk fixes his attention on a corpse in some horrible stage of decay and thus concentrates his mind on the impermanence of all things. The ten recollections are a less gloomy exercise but similar in principle as the attention is fixed on some religious subject such as the Buddha his law his order etc.

The Brahmā vihāras⁴ are states of emotional meditation which lead to rebirth in the heavens of Brahmā. They are attained by letting love or some other good emotion dominate the mind and by 'pervading the whole world' with it. This language about pervading the world with kindly emotion is common in Buddhist books though alien to European idiom. The mind must harbour no uncharitable thought and then its

¹ Such procedure has not received much countenance in Christian mysticism but the contemplation of a burnished pewter dish and of running water induced ecstasy in Jacob Boehme and Ignatius Loyola respectively. See Underhill *Mysticism*, p. 69.

² Maj. Nik. 62 end.

³ The analysis means to analyze all things as consisting alike of the four elements. The one perception is the perception that all nourishment is impure.

⁴ See Dig. Nik. 13 and Rhys Davids introduction to it. In spite of their name they seem to be purely Buddhist and have not been found in Brahmanic literature. The four states are characterized respectively by love, sympathy with sorrow, sympathy with joy and equanimity.

benevolence becomes a psychic force which spreads in all directions, just as the sound of a trumpet can be heard in all four quarters

These Brahmâ-vihâras are sometimes represented as coming after the four Jhânas¹, sometimes as replacing them². But the object of the two exercises is not the same, for the Brahmâ-vihâras aim at rebirth in a better world. They are based on the theory common to Buddhism and Hinduism that the predominant thoughts of a man's life, and especially his thoughts when near death, determine the character of his next existence.

The trances known as the four formless states are analogous to the Brahmâ-vihâras, their object being to ensure rebirth not in the heaven of Brahmâ but in one of the heavens known as Formless Worlds where the inhabitants have no material form³. They are sometimes combined with other states into a series of eight, known as the eight deliverances⁴. The more advanced of these stages seem to be hypnotic and even cataleptic. In the first formless state the monk who is meditating rises above all idea of form and multiplicity and reaches the sphere in which the infinity of space is the only idea present to his mind. He then passes to the sphere where the infinity of thought only is present and thence to the sphere in which he thinks "nothing at all exists⁵," though it would seem that the consciousness of his own mental processes is undiminished. The teaching of Alâra Kâlâma, the Buddha's first teacher, made the attainment of this state its goal. It is succeeded by the state in which neither any idea nor the absence of any idea is specially present to the mind⁶. This was the goal of Uddaka Râmaputta, his second teacher, and is illustrated by the simile of a bowl which has been smeared with oil inside. That is to say, consciousness is reduced to a minimum. Beyond these four stages is yet another⁷, in which a complete cessation of perception and feeling is

¹ Dig. Nik. xiii. 76

² Dig. Nik. xvii. 2-4.

³ Christian mystics also, such as St Angela and St Theresa, had "formless visions." See Underhill, *Myst* pp. 338 ff.

⁴ Attha vimokkhâ. See Mahâparinibb. sut. in Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. 119.

⁵ Akhñcaññâyatanam

⁶ Nevasaññânâsaññâyatanam

⁷ Saññavedâyita nirodhasamâpatti. The Buddha when dying (Dig. xvi. v. 8, 9) passes through this state, but does not go from it to Parinibbâna. This perhaps means that it was regarded as a purification of the mind, but not on the direct road to the final goal.

attained¹ This state differs from death only in the fact that heat and physical life are not extinct and while it lasts there is no consciousness It is stated that it could continue during seven days but not longer Such hypnotic trances have always inspired respect in India but the Buddha rejected as unsatisfying the teaching of his masters which made them the final goal

But let us return to his account of Jhāna and its results The first of these is a correct knowledge of the body and of the connection of consciousness with the body Next comes the power to call up out of the body a mental image which is apparently the earliest form of what has become known in later times as the astral body In the account of the conversion of Angulimāla the brigand² it is related that the Buddha caused to appear an image of himself which Angulimāla could not overtake although he ran with all his might and the Buddha was walking quietly

The five states or faculties which follow in the enumeration are often called (though not in the earliest texts) *abhissā* or transcendental knowledge They are *iddhi* or the wondrous gift the heavenly ear which hears heavenly music³ the knowledge of others' thoughts the power of remembering one's own previous births the divine eye which sees the previous births of others⁴ It would appear that the order of these states is not important and that they do not depend on one another *Iddhi* like the power of evoking a mental image seems to be connected with hypnotic phenomena It means literally power not is used in the special sense of magical or supernatural gifts such as

¹ See Maj. Nik. 43. But the point of the discussion seems to be not so much special commendation of this form of trance as an explanation of its origin namely that it, like other mental states, is bound to ensue when certain preliminary conditions both moral and intellectual have been realized. See also Sam. Nik. xxxvi. ii. 5. See for examples of this cataleptic form of *Samādhi* Max Müller's *Life of Ramakrishna*, pp. 49 50 etc. Christian mystics (e.g. St Catharine of Siena and St Theresa) were also subject to deathlike trances lasting for hours and St Theresa is said once to have been in this condition for some days.

² Maj. Nik. 86.

³ This is known to European mystics, particularly Suso. St Francis of Assisi St Catharine of Siena and Richard Rolle are also cited. See Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 322.

⁴ Christian visions of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise are another instance of the divine eye, which thinks it can see the whole scheme of things.

ability to walk on water, fly in the air, or pass through a wall¹ Some of these sensations are familiar in dreams and are probably easily attainable as subjective results in trances I am inclined to attribute accounts implying their objective reality to the practice of hypnotism and to suppose that a disciple in a hypnotic state would on the assurance of his teacher believe that he saw the teacher himself, or some person pointed out by the teacher, actually performing such feats Of *iddhi* we are told that a monk can practise it, just as a potter can make anything he likes out of prepared clay, which is a way of saying that he who has his mind perfectly controlled can treat himself to any mental pleasure he chooses Although the Buddha and others are represented as performing such feats as floating in the air whenever it suits them, yet the instruction given as to how the powers may be acquired starts by bidding the neophyte pass through the four stages of *Jhâna* or meditation in which ordinary external perception ceases Then he will be able to have the experiences described And it is probable that the description gives a correct account of the sensations which arise in the course of a trance, particularly if the trance has been entered upon with the object of experiencing them In other words they are hypnotic states and often the result of suggestion, since he who meditates knows what the result of his meditation should be Sometimes, as mentioned, *Jhâna* is induced by methods familiar to mesmerists, such as gazing at a circle or some bright object but such expedients are not essential and with this European authorities agree Thus Bernheim states that even when a subject is hypnotized for the first time, no gestures or passes are necessary, provided he is calm It suffices to bid him look at the operator and go to sleep He adds that those who are most susceptible to the hypnotic influence are not nervous and hysterical subjects but docile and receptive natures who can concentrate their attention² Now it is hardly possible to imagine better hypnotic

¹ Tales about such powers are still very common in the East, for instance the Chinese story (in the *Liao Chai*) of the man who learnt from a Taoist how to walk through a wall but failed ignominiously when he tried to give an exhibition to his family Educated Chinese seem to think there is something in the story and say that he failed because his motives were bad.

² Bernheim, *La Suggestion*, chap. I. Quand j'ai éloigné de son esprit la pré-occupation que fait naître l'idée de magnétisme je lui dis "Regardez-moi bien

subjects than the pupils of an Indian religious teacher. They are taught to regard him with deep respect and complete confidence: they are continually in a state of expectant receptivity, assimilating not only the texts and doctrines which he imparts but his way of life. Their training leads them to believe in the reality of mental and physical powers exceeding those of ordinary mankind and indeed to think that if they do not have such experiences it is through some fault of their own. The teachers, though ignorant of hypnotism as such, would not hesitate to use any procedure which seemed to favour progress in meditation and the acquisition of supernatural powers. Now a large number of Indian marvels fall under two heads. In the first case Buddha, Krishna or any personage raised above the ordinary human level points out to his disciples that wonders are occurring or will occur: he causes people to appear or disappear, he appears himself in an amazing form which he explains. In the other case the possessor of marvellous powers has experience which he subsequently relates: he goes up to heaven or flies to the uttermost parts of the earth and returns. Both of these cases are covered by the phenomena of hypnotism. I do not mean to say that any given Indian legend can be explained by analyzing it as if it were a report of a hypnotic operation, but merely that the general character of these legends is largely due to the prevalence of hypnotic experiences among their composers and hearers.¹ Two obscure branches of hypnotism are probably of great importance in the religious history of the human race, namely self-hypnotization without external suggestion and the hypnotization of crowds. India affords plentiful materials for the study of both.

There is no reason to doubt that the Buddha believed in the existence of these powers and countenanced the practices supposed to lead to them. Thus Moggallāna, second only to

et ne songez qu'à dormir. Vous allez sentir une lourdeur dans les paupières, une fatigue dans vos yeux; ils clignent, ils vont se mouiller; la vue devient confuse; ils se ferment. Quelques sujets ferment les yeux et dorment immédiatement. *C'est le sommeil par la suggestion: c'est l'image du sommeil que je suggère que j'insinue dans le cerveau. Les passes, la fixation des yeux ou des doigts de l'opérateur propres seulement à concentrer l'attention, ne sont pas absolument nécessaires.*

¹ Thus in the drama *Ratnāvalī* a magician makes the characters see an imaginary conflagration of the palace and also a vision of heaven. His performance seems to be accepted as merely a remarkable piece of conjuring.

Sâriputta among his disciples, was called the master of *iddhi*¹, and it is mentioned as a creditable and enjoyable accomplishment² But it is made equally plain that such magical or hypnotic practices are not essential to the attainment of the Buddha's ideal When lists of attainments are given, *iddhi* does not receive the first place and it may be possessed by bad men Devadatta for instance was proficient in it. It is even denounced in the story of Pindola Bhâradvâja³ and in the Kevaddha sutta⁴ In this curious dialogue the Buddha is asked to authorize the performance of miracles as an advertisement of the true faith He refuses categorically, saying there are three sorts of wonders namely *iddhi*, that is flying through the air, etc the wonder of manifestation which is thought-reading and the wonder of education Of the first two he says "I see danger in their practice and therefore I loathe, abhor and am ashamed of them." Then by one of those characteristic turns of language by which he uses old words in new senses he adds that the true miracle is the education of the heart

Neither are the other transcendental powers necessary for emancipation Sâriputta had not the heavenly eye, yet he was the chief disciple and an eminent arhat This heavenly eye (*dibba-cakkhu*) is not the same as the eye of truth (*dhamma-cakkhu*) It means perfect knowledge of the operation of Karma and hence a panoramic view of the universe, whereas the eye of truth is a technical phrase for the opening of the eyes, the mental revolution which accompanies conversion But though transcendental knowledge is not indispensable for attaining nirvana, it is an attribute of the Buddha and in most of its forms amounts to an exceptional insight into human nature and the laws of the universe, which, though after the Indian manner exaggerated and pedantically defined, does not differ essentially from what we call genius

The power of recollecting one's previous births, often mentioned in the Pitakas, has been described in detail by Buddhist writers and Buddhaghosa⁵ distinguishes between the

¹ Ang Nik. xvi. 1 In spite of his magic power he could not prevent himself being murdered The Milinda-Pañha explains this as the result of Karma, which is stronger than magic and everything else

² *E g* Maj Nik. 77

³ Cullavag v 8

⁴ Dig Nik xi

⁵ Visuddhi Magga, xiii. in Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, pp 315 ff

powers possessed by various persons. The lowest form of recollection merely passes from one mental state to a previous mental state and so on backwards through successive lives not however understanding each life as a whole. But even ordinary disciples can not only recollect previous mental states but can also travel backwards along the sequence of births and deaths and bring up before their minds the succession of existences. A Buddha's intelligence dispenses with the necessity of moving backwards from birth to birth but can select any point of time and see at once the whole series of births extending from it in both directions backwards and forwards. Buddhaghosa then goes on to prescribe the method to be followed by a monk who tries for the first time to recollect previous births. After taking his midday meal he should choose a quiet place and sitting down pass through the four Jhānas in succession. On rising from the fourth trance he should consider the event which last took place namely his sitting down and then in retrograde order all that he did the day and night before and so backwards month after month and year after year. A clever monk (so says Buddhaghosa) is able at the first trial to pass beyond the moment of his conception in the present existence and to take as the object of his thought his individuality at the moment of his last death. But since the individuality of the previous existence ceased and another one came into being therefore that point of time is like thick darkness. Buddhaghosa goes on to explain, if I apprehend his meaning rightly, that the proper recollection of previous births involves the element of form and the mind sharpened by the practice of the four trances does not merely reproduce feelings and impressions but knows the name and events of the previous existence whereas ordinary persons are apt to reproduce feelings and impressions without having any clear idea of the past existence as a whole. This, I believe corresponds with the experience of modern Buddhists. It is beyond doubt that those who attempt to carry their memory back in the way described are convinced that they remember existences before the present life. As a rule it takes from a fortnight to a month to obtain such a remembrance clearly and every day the aspirant to a knowledge of previous births must carry his memory further and further back, dwelling less and less on the details of recent events. When he reaches

the time of his birth, he feels as if there were a curtain of black darkness before him, but if the attention is concentrated, this curtain is rent and the end of the previous life is recovered behind it. The process is painful for it involves the recollection of death and the even greater pains of birth and many have not courage to go beyond this point. It is not uncommon in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and probably in all parts of the Far East, to find people who are persuaded they can remember previous births in this way, but I have never met anyone who professed to recall more than two or three. There is no room in these modest modern visions for the long vistas of previous lives seen by the earlier Buddhists.

Meditation also plays a considerable part in the Buddhism of the Far East under the name of Ch'an or Zen of which we shall have something to say when we treat of China and Japan.

As already indicated the methods and results of meditation as practised by Brahmanic Hindus and by Buddhists show considerable resemblance to the experiences of Christian mystics. The coincidences do not concern mere matters of detail, although theology has done its best to make the content and explanation of the experiences as divergent as possible. But the essential similarity of form remains and there is clearly no question of borrowing or direct influence. It is certain that what is sometimes called the Mystic Way is not only true as a succession of psychic states but is, for those who can walk in it, the road to a happiness which in reality and power to satisfy exceeds all pleasures of the senses and intellect, so that when once known it makes all other joys and pains seem negligible. Yet despite the intense reality of this happy state, despite the illumination which floods the soul and the wide visions of a universal plan, there is no agreement as to the cause of the experience nor, strange to say, as to its meaning as opposed to its form. For many both in the east and west the one essential and indubitable fact throughout the experience is God, yet Buddhists are equally decided in holding that the experience has nothing to do with any deity. This is not a mere question of interpretation. It means that views as to theism and pantheism are indifferent for the attainment of this happy state.

The mystics of India are sometimes contrasted with their fellows in Europe as being more passive and more self-centred.

they are supposed to desire self annihilation and to have no thought for others. But I doubt if the contrast is just. If Indian mysticism sometimes appears at a disadvantage, I think it is because it is popular and in danger of being stereotyped and sometimes vulgarized. Nowadays in Europe we have students of mysticism rather than mystics, and the mystics of the Christian Church were independent and distinguished spirits who instead of following the signposts of the beaten track, found out a path for themselves. But in India mysticism was and is as common as prayer and as popular as science. It was taught in manuals and parodied by charlatans. When mysticism is the staple crop of a religion and not a rare wild flower the percentage of imperfect specimens is bound to be high. The Buddha, Sankara and a host of less well known teachers were as strenuous and influential as Francis of Assisi or Ignatius Loyola. Neither in Europe nor in Asia has mysticism contributed much directly to political and social reform. That is not its sphere, but within the religious sphere, in preaching, teaching and organization, the mystic is intensely practical and the number of successes (as of failures) is greater in Asia than in Europe. Even in theory Indian mysticism does not repudiate energy. No one enjoyed more than the Buddha himself what Ruyshroek calls 'the mysterious peace dwelling in activity' for before he began his mission he had attained nirvana and such of his disciples as were arhats were in the same case. Later Buddhism recognizes a special form of nirvana called *apratishthita*—those who attain it see that there is no real difference between mundane existence and nirvana and therefore devote themselves to a life of beneficent activity.

The period of transition and trial known to European mystics as the Dark Night of the Soul is not mentioned in Indian manuals as an episode of the spiritual life for such an interruption would hardly harmonize with their curriculum of regular progress towards enlightenment. But mystic poetry testifies that in Asia as in Europe this feeling of desertion and loneliness is a frequent experience in the struggles and adventures of the soul. It is apparently not necessary just as the incidental joys and triumphs of the soul—strains of heavenly music, aerial flights and visions of the universal scheme—are also not essential. The essential features of the mystic way as well as

its usual incidents, are common to Asia and Europe, and in both continents are expressed in two forms. One view contrasts the surface life and a deeper life when the intellect ceases to plague and puzzle, something else arises from the depth and makes its unity with some greater Force to be felt as a reality. This idea finds ample expression in the many Brahmanic systems which regarded the centre and core of the human being as an *âtman* or *purusha*, happy when in the undisturbed peace of its own nature but distracted by the senses and intellect. The other view of mystic experiences regards them as a remaking of character, the evolution of a new personality and in fact a new birth. This of course need not be a denial of the other view: the emergence of the latent self may effect a transformation of the whole being. But Buddhism, at any rate early Buddhism, formulates its theory in a polemical form. There is no ready-made latent self, awaiting manifestation when its fetters and veils are removed. man's inner life is capable of superhuman extension but the extension is the result of enlargement and training, not of self-revelation.

CHAPTER XV

MYTHOLOGY IN HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

I

THE later phases of Buddhism described as Mahāyāna show this feature among many others, that the supernatural and mythological side of religion becomes prominent. Gods or angels play an increasingly important part, the Buddha himself becomes a being superior to all gods, and Buddhas, gods and saints perform at every turn feats for which miracle seems too modest a name. The object of the present chapter is to trace the early stages of these beliefs, for they are found in the Pali Canon although it is not until later that they overgrow and hide the temple in whose walls they are rooted.

It may be fairly said that Buddhism is not a miraculous religion in the sense that none of its essential doctrines depend on miracles. It would seem that such a religion as Mormonism must collapse if it were admitted that the Book of Mormon is not a revelation delivered to Joseph Smith. But the content of the Buddha's teaching is not miraculous and, though he is alleged to have possessed insight exceeding ordinary human knowledge, yet this is not exactly a miracle and it is a question whether an unusual intelligence disciplined by meditation might not attain to such knowledge. Still, though the essence of the doctrine may be detachable from miracles and even be scientific, one cannot read very far in the Vinaya or the Sutta Pitaka without coming upon unearthly beings or supernatural occurrences.

The credibility of miracles is to my mind simply a question of evidence. Any extraordinary event such as a person doing a thing totally foreign to his character is improbable *a priori*. But the law does not allow that the best of men is incapable of committing the worst of crimes, if the evidence proves he did. Nor can the most extraordinary violation of nature's laws be pronounced impossible if supported by sufficient evidence; only the evidence must be strong in proportion to the strange-

ness of the circumstances But I cannot see that the uniformity of nature is any objection to the occurrence of miracles, for as a rule a miracle is regarded not as an event without a cause, but as due to a new cause, namely the intervention of a super-human person Many of the best known miracles are such that one may imagine this person to effect them by understanding and controlling some unknown natural force, just as we control electricity Only evidence is required to show that he can do so But on the other hand the weakness of every religion which depends on miracles is that their truth is contested and not unreasonably If they are true, why are they not certain? Of all the phenomena described as miracles, ghosts, fortune telling, magic, clairvoyance, prophesying, and so on, none command unchallenged acceptance In every age miracles, portents and apparitions have been recorded, yet none of them with a certainty that carries universal conviction and in many ages contemporary scepticism was possible Even in Vedic times there were people who did not believe in the existence of Indra¹

It is clear that some miracles require more evidence than others and many old stories are so fantastic that they may justly be put aside because those who reported them did not see, as we can, what difficulties they involve and hence felt no need for caution in belief Among ancient Indians or Hebrews tales of seven headed snakes or of stopping the sun did not arouse the critical spirit, for the phenomena did not seem much more extraordinary than centipedes or eclipses Only those who understand that such stories upset all we know of anatomy and astronomy can realize their improbability and the weight of evidence necessary to make them credible The most important distinction in miracles (I use the word as a popular description of extraordinary events which is readily understood though hard to define) is whether they are in any way subjective, that is to say that they depend in the last resort on an impression produced in certain, but not all, human minds or whether they are objective, that is to say that all witnesses would have seen them like any other event A man rising into the air would be an objective miracle if it were admitted that this levitation was as real as the flight of a bird, and very strong evidence would be necessary to make us believe that such a movement had really

¹ R V II 12 5

cannot talk or of trying to prove that they can. Poetry can take liberties with facts provided it follows the lines of metaphors which the reader finds natural. The same latitude cannot be allowed in unfamiliar directions. Thus though a shower of flowers from heaven is not more extraordinary than talking flowers and is quite natural in Indian poetry, it would probably disconcert the English reader¹. An Indian poet would not represent flowers as talking, but would give the same idea by saying that the spirits inhabiting trees and plants recited stanzas. Similarly when a painter draws a picture of an angel with wings rising from the shoulder blades, even the very scientific do not think it needful to point out that no such anatomical arrangement is known or probable, nor do the very pious maintain that such creatures exist. The whole question is allowed to rest happily in some realm of acquiescence untroubled by discussions. And it is in this spirit that Indian books relate how when the Buddha went abroad showers of flowers fell from the sky and the air resounded with heavenly music, or diversify their theological discussions with interludes of demons, nymphs and magic serpents. And although this riot of the imagination offends our ideas of good sense and proportion, the Buddhists do not often lose the distinction between what Matthew Arnold called *Literature* and *Dogma*. The Buddha's visits to various heavens are not presented as articles of faith; they are simply a pleasant setting for his discourses.

Some miracles of course have a more serious character and can be less easily separated from the essentials of the faith. Thus the Pitakas represent the Buddha as able to see all that happens in the world and to transport himself anywhere at will. But even in such cases we may remember that when we say of a well-informed and active person that he is omniscient and ubiquitous, we are not misunderstood. The hyperbole of Indian legends finds its compensation in the small importance attached to them. No miraculous circumstance recorded of the Buddha has anything like the significance attributed by Christians to the virgin birth or the resurrection of Christ. His superhuman powers are in keeping with the picture drawn of his character. They are mostly the result of an attempt to

¹ Yet Tennyson can say "And at their feet the crocus brake like fire," but in a mythological poem

refused to give signs), and says that they do not "conduce to the conversion of the unconverted or to the increase of the converted." Those who know India will easily call up a picture of how the Bhikkhus strove to impress the crowd by exhibitions not unlike a modern juggler's tricks and how the master stopped them. His motives are clear these performances had nothing to do with the essence of his teaching. If it be true that he ever countenanced them, he soon saw his error. He did not want people to say that he was a conjurer who knew the Gāndhāra charm or any other trick. And though we have no warrant for doubting that he believed in the reality of the powers known as *iddhi*, it is equally certain that he did not consider them essential or even important for religion.

Somewhat similar is the attitude of early Buddhism to the spirit world—the hosts of deities and demons who people this and other spheres. Their existence is assumed, but the truths of religion are not dependent on them, and attempts to use their influence by sacrifices and oracles are deprecated as vulgar practices similar to juggling. Later Buddhism became infected with mythology and the critical change occurs when deities, instead of being merely protectors of the church, take an active part in the work of salvation. When the Hindu gods developed into personalities who could appeal to religious and philosophic minds as cosmic forces, as revealers of the truth and guides to bliss, the example was too attractive to be neglected and a pantheon of Bodhisattvas arose. But it is clear that when the Buddha preached in Kosala and Magadha, the local deities had not attained any such position. The systems of philosophy then in vogue were mostly not theistic, and, strange as the words may sound, religion had little to do with the gods. If this be thought to rest on a mistranslation, it is certainly true that the *dhamma* had very little to do with *devas*. The example of Rome under the Empire or of modern China makes the position clearer. In neither would a serious enquirer turn to the ancient national gods for spiritual help.

Often as the Devas figure in early Buddhist stories, the significance of their appearance nearly always lies in their relations with the Buddha or his disciples. Of mere mythology, such as the dealings of Brahmā and Indra with other gods, there is little. In fact the gods, though freely invoked as

He who dared to represent Brahmâ (for which name we might substitute Allah or Jehovah) as a pompous deluded individual worried by the difficulty of keeping up his position had more than the usual share of scepticism and irony. The compilers of such discourses regarded the gods as mere embellishments, as gargoyles and quaint figures in the cathedral porch, not as saints above the altar. The mythology and cosmology associated with early Buddhism are really extraneous. The Buddha's teaching is simply the four truths and some kindred ethical and psychological matter. It grew up in an atmosphere of animism which peopled the trees and streams and mountains with spirits. It accepted and played with the idea, just as it might have accepted and played with the idea of radio-activity. But such notions do not affect the essence of the Dharma and it might be preached in severe isolation. Yet in Asia it hardly ever has been so isolated. It is true that Indian mythology has not always accompanied the spread of Buddhism. There is much of it in Tibet and Mongolia but less in China and Japan and still less in Burma. But probably in every part of Asia the Buddhist missionaries found existing a worship of nature spirits and accepted it, sometimes even augmenting and modifying it. In every age the elect may have risen superior to all ideas of gods and heavens and hells, but for any just historical perspective, for any sympathetic understanding of the faith as it exists as a living force to-day, it is essential to remember this background and frame of fantastic but graceful mythology.

Many later Mahayanist books are full of dhâranîs or spells. Dhâranîs are not essentially different from mantras, especially tantric mantras containing magical syllables, but whereas mantras are more or less connected with worship, dhâranîs are rather for personal use, spells to ward off evil and bring good luck. The Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Chuang¹ states that the sect of the Mahâsanghikas, which in his opinion arose in connection with the first council, compiled a Pitaka of dhâranîs. The tradition cannot be dismissed as incredible for even the Dîgha-Nikâya relates how a host of spirits visited the Buddha in order to impart a formula which would keep his disciples safe from harm. Buddhist and Brahmanic mythology represent two methods of working up popular legends. The Mahâbhârata and

¹ Watters, II p 160

tion of whatever intelligence and desire for good there is in the world¹. But in no case do the Pitakas concede to him the position of supreme ruler of the Universe. In one singular narrative the Buddha tells his disciples how he once ascertained that Brahmâ Baka was under the delusion that his heaven was eternal and cured him of it².

3

All Indian religions have a passion for describing in bold imaginative outline the history and geography of the universe. Their ideas are juster than those of Europeans and Semites in so far as they imply a sense of the distribution of life throughout immensities of time and space. The Hindu perceived more clearly than the Jew and Greek that his own age and country were merely parts of a much longer series and of a far larger structure or growth. He wished to keep this whole continually before the mind, but in attempting to describe it he fell into that besetting intellectual sin of India, the systematizing of the imaginary. Ages, continents and worlds are described in detailed statements which bear no relation to facts. Thus, Brahmanic cosmogony usually deals with a period of time called Kalpa. This is a day in the life of Brahmâ, who lives one hundred years of such days, and it marks the duration of a world which comes into being at its commencement and is annihilated at its end. It consists of 4320 times a million years and is divided into fourteen smaller periods called manvantaras each presided over by a superhuman being called Manu³. A manvantara contains about seventy-one mahâyugas and each mahâyuga is what men call the four ages

¹ He is often called Brahmâ Sahampati, a title of doubtful meaning and not found in Brahmanic writings. The Pitakas often speak of Brahmâs and worlds of Brahmâ in the plural, as if there were a whole class of Brahmâs. See especially the Suttas collected in book I, chap. VI. of the Samyutta Nikâya where we even hear of Pacceka Brahmâs, apparently corresponding in some way to Pacceka Buddhas.

² Maj. Nik. 49. The meaning of the title Baka is not clear and may be ironical. Another ironical name is manopadosikâ (debauched in mind) invented as the title of a class of gods in Dig. Nik. I and XX. The idea that sages can instruct the gods is anterior to Buddhism. See e.g. Brihad-Âr. Up. II 5 17, and Ib. IV 3 33, and the parallel passage in the Tait. Chând. Kaush. Upanishads and Śat. Brâhmana for the idea that a Śrotriya is equal to the highest deities.

³ Six Manvantaras of the present Kalpa have elapsed and we are in the seventh

of the world¹ Geography and astronomy show similar precision The Earth is the lowest of seven spheres or worlds, and beneath it are a series of hells² The three upper spheres last for a hundred Kalpas but are still material, though less gross than those below The whole system of worlds is encompassed above and below by the shell of the egg of Brahmā Round this again are envelopes of water, fire, air, ether, mind and finally the infinite Pradhāna or cause of all existing things The earth consists of seven land masses, divided and surrounded by seven seas In the centre of the central land mass rises Mount Meru, nearly a million miles high and bearing on its peaks the cities of Brahmā and other gods

The cosmography of the Buddhists is even more luxuriant, for it regards the universe as consisting of innumerable spheres (*cakkavālas*), each of which might seem to a narrower imagination a universe in itself, since it has its own earth, heavenly bodies, paradises and hells A sphere is divided into three regions, the lowest of which is the region of desire This consists of eleven divisions which, beginning from the lowest, are the hells, and the worlds of animals, Pretas (hungry ghosts), Asuras (Titans)³ and men This last, which we inhabit consists of a vast circular plain largely covered with water In the centre of it is Mount Meru, and it is surrounded by a wall Above it rise six *lokalas*, or heavens of the inferior gods Above the realms of desire there follow sixteen worlds in which there is form but no desire All are states of bliss one higher than the other and all are attained by the exercise of meditation Above these again come four formless worlds, in which there is neither desire nor form They correspond to the four stages of *Arūpa* trances and in them the gross and evil elements of existence are reduced to a minimum, but still they are not permanent and cannot be

¹ We are in the Kali or worst age of the present mahāyuga. The Kali lasts 432,000 years and began 3102 B.C.

In their number and in many other points of cosmography the various accounts differ greatly The account given above is taken from the Vishnu Purāṇa, book II. but the details in it are not entirely consistent.

² The detailed formulation of this cosmography was naturally gradual but its chief features are known to the Nikāyas. Dig. Nik. xiv. 17 and 30 seem to imply the theory of spheres. For Heavens, see Maj. Nik. 49 Dig. Nik. xi. 68-79 and for Hells Sūt. Nip. iii. 10, Maj. Nik. 129. See too De la Vallée Poussin's article, *Cosmology Buddhist*, in E.R.H.

³ See for the Asuras Sam. Nik. I. xl. 1

regarded as final salvation. We naturally think of this series of worlds as so many storeys rising one above the other and they are so depicted¹ but it will be observed that the animal kingdom is placed between the hells and humanity, obviously not as having its local habitation there but as better off than the one, though inferior to the other, and perhaps if we pointed this out to the Hindu artist he would smile and say that his many storeyed picture must not be taken so literally all states of being are merely states of mind, hellish, brutish, human and divine.

Grotesque as Hindu notions of the world may seem, they include two great ideas of modern science. The universe is infinite or at least immeasurable². The vision of the astronomer who sees a solar system in every star of the milky way is not wider than the thought that devised these Cakkavâlas or spheres, each with a vista of heavens and a procession of Buddhas, to look after its salvation. Yet compared with the sum of being a sphere is an atom. Space is filled by aggregates of them, considered by some as groups of three, by others as clusters of a thousand. And secondly these world systems, with the living beings and plants in them, are regarded as growing and developing by natural processes, and, equally in virtue of natural processes, as decaying and disintegrating when the time comes. In the Aggañña-Sutta³ we have a curious account of the evolution of man which, though not the same as Darwin's, shows the same idea of development or perhaps degeneration and differentiation. Human beings were originally immaterial, aerial and self-luminous, but as the world gradually assumed its present form they took to eating first of all a fragrant kind of earth and then plants with the result that their bodies became gross and differences of sex and colour were produced.

No sect of Hinduism personifies the powers of evil in one figure corresponding to Satan, or the Ahriman of Persia. In proportion as a nation thinks pantheistically it is disinclined to regard the world as being mainly a contest between good and evil. It is true there are innumerable demons and innumerable good spirits who withstand them. But just as there is no

¹ See a Tibetan representation in Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 79.

² The question of whether the universe is infinite in space or not is according to the Pitakas one of those problems which cannot be answered.

³ Dig. Nik. xxvii.

finality in the exploits of Rāma and Krishna, so Rāvana and other monsters do not attain to the dignity of the Devil. In a sense the destructive forces are evil, but when they destroy the world at the end of a Kalpa the result is not the triumph of evil. It is simply winter after autumn, leading to spring and another summer.

Buddhism having a stronger ethical bias than Hinduism was more conscious of the existence of a Tempter or a power that makes men sin. This power is personified but somewhat indistinctly, as Māra, originally and etymologically a god of death. He is commonly called Māra the Evil One¹, which corresponds to the *Mṛtyuh pāpmā* of the Vedas but as a personality he seems to have developed entirely within the Buddhist circle and to be unknown to general Indian mythology. In the thought of the Pīṭakas the connection between death and desire is clear. The great evils and great characteristics of the world are that everything in it decays and dies and that existence depends on desire. Therefore the ruler of the world may be represented as the god of desire and death. Buddha and his saints struggle with evil and overcome it by overcoming desire and this triumphant struggle is regarded as a duel with Māra who is driven off and defeated².

Even in his most mythological aspects Māra is not a deity of Hell. He presides over desire and temptation not over judgment and punishment. This is the function of Yama the god of the dead and one of the Brahmanic deities who have migrated to the Far East. He has been adopted by Buddhism, though no explanation is given of his status. But he is introduced as a vague but effective figure—and yet hardly more than a metaphor—whenever it is desired to personify the inflexible powers that summon the living to the other world and there make them undergo, with awful accuracy, the retribution due.

¹ Māra pāpmā. See especially Windisch, *Māra and Buddha* 1893, and Sam. Nik. I. iv.

² We sometimes hear of Māras in the plural. Like Brahmā he is sometimes a personality sometimes the type of a class of gods. We also hear that he has obtained his present exalted though not virtuous post by his liberality in former births. Thus, like Sakka and other Buddhist Devas, Māra is really an office held by successive occupants. He is said to be worshipped by some Tibetan sects. It is possible that the legends about Māra and his daughters and about Krishna and the Gopīs may have a common origin for Māra is called Kapha (the Prakrit equivalent of Krishna) in *Sutta-Nipāta*, 439.

for their deeds In a remarkable passage¹ called Death's Messengers, it is related that when a sinner dies he is led before King Yama who asks him if he never saw the three messengers of the gods sent as warnings to mortals, namely an old man, a sick man and a corpse The sinner under judgment admits that he saw but did not reflect and Yama sentences him to punishment, until suffering commensurate to his sins has been inflicted

Buddhism tells of many hells, of which *Avīci* is the most terrible They are of course all temporary and therefore purgatories rather than places of eternal punishment, and the beings who inhabit them have the power of struggling upwards and acquiring merit², but the task is difficult and one may be born repeatedly in hell The phraseology of Buddhism calls existences in heavens and hells new births To us it seems more natural to say that certain people are born again as men and that others go to heaven or hell But the three destinies are really parallel³

The desire to accommodate influential ideas, though they might be incompatible with the strict teaching of the Buddha, is well seen in the position accorded to spirits of the dead The Buddha was untiring in his denunciation of every idea which implied that some kind of soul or double escapes from the body at death and continues to exist But the belief in the existence of departed ancestors and the presentation of offerings to them have always formed a part of Hindu domestic religion To gratify this persistent belief, Buddhism recognized the world of *Petas*, that is ghosts or spirits Many varieties of these are described in later literature Some are as thin as withered leaves and suffer from continual hunger, for their mouths are so small that they can take no solid food According to strict theology, the *Petas* are a category of beings just above animals and certain forms of bad conduct entail birth among them But in popular estimation, they are merely the spirits of the

¹ Ang Nīk III. 35

² This seems to be the correct doctrine, though it is hard to understand how the popular idea of continual torture is compatible with the performance of good deeds The *Kathā-vatthu*, XIII 2, states that a man in purgatory can do good See too Ang Nīk. I 19

³ But even the language of the Pitakas is not always quite correct on this point, for it represents evil doers as falling down straight into hell.

dead who can receive nourishment and other benefits from the living. The veneration of the dead and the offering of sacrifices to or for them, which form a conspicuous feature in Far Eastern Buddhism are often regarded as a perversion of the older faith, and so indeed, they are. Yet in the *Khuddaka pāṭha*¹ which if not a very early work is still part of the Sutta Pitaka are found some curious and pathetic verses describing how the spirits of the departed wait by walls and crossways and at the doors, hoping to receive offerings of food. When they receive it their hearts are gladdened and they wish their relatives prosperity. As many streams fill the ocean so does what is given here help the dead. Above all gifts given to monks will redound to the good of the dead for a long time. This last point is totally opposed to the spirit of Gotama's doctrine but it contains the germ of the elaborate system of funeral masses which has assumed vast proportions in the Far East.

4

What then is the position of the Buddha himself in this universe of many worlds and multitudinous deities? European writers sometimes fail to understand how the popular thought of India combines the human and superhuman: they divorce the two aspects and unduly emphasize one or the other. If they are impressed by the historical character of Gotama they conclude that all legends with a supernatural tinge must be late and adventitious. If on the other hand they feel that the extent and importance of the legendary element entitles it to consideration, they minimize the historical kernel. But in India reality and fancy, prosaic fact and extravagant imagination are found not as successive stages in the development of religious ideas but simultaneously and side by side. Keshub Chunder Sen was a man of liberal views who probably looked as prosaic a product of the nineteenth century as any radical politician.

¹ Khud. Path. 7. In this poem, the word *Peta* (Sk. *Preta*) seems to be used as equivalent to departed spirits, not necessarily implying that they are under going punishment. In the *Questions of Milinda* (iv. 8. 29) the practice of making offerings on behalf of the dead is countenanced, and it is explained exactly what classes of dead profit by them. On the other hand the *Kathā-vatthu* states that the dead do not benefit by gifts given in this world, but two sects, the *Rājagirikā* and *Siddhatthikā*, are said by the commentary to hold the contrary view.

Yet his followers were said to regard him as a God, and whether this is a correct statement or not, it is certain that he was credited with superhuman power and received a homage which seemed even to Indians excessive¹ It is in the light of such incidents and such temperaments that we should read the story of the Buddha Could we be transported to India in the days of his preaching, we should probably see a figure very like the portrait given in the more sober parts of the Pitakas, a teacher of great intelligence and personal charm, yet distinctly human But had we talked about him in the villages which lay along his route, or even in the circle of his disciples, I think we should have heard tales of how Devas visited him and how he was wont to vanish and betake himself to some heaven The Hindu attributes such feats to a religious leader, as naturally as Europeans would ascribe to him a magnetic personality and a flashing eye

The Pitakas emphasize the omniscience and sinlessness of the Buddha but contain no trace of the idea that he is God in the Christian or Mahommedan sense. They are consistently non-theistic and it is only later that Buddhas and Bodhisattvas become transformed into beings about whom theistic language can be used But in those parts of the Pitakas which may be reasonably supposed to contain the ideas of the first century after the Buddha's death, he is constantly represented as instructing Devas and receiving their homage² In the Khuddaka-pâṭha the spirits are invited to come and do him reverence He is described as the Chief of the World with all its gods³, and is made to deny that he is a man If a Buddha cannot be called a Deva rather than a man, it is only because he is higher than both It is this train of thought which leads later Buddhists⁴ to call him Devâtideva, or the Deva who is above all other Devas, and thus make him ultimately a being comparable with Siva or Vishnu

The idea that great teachers of mankind appear in a regular series and at stated intervals is certainly older than Gotama,

¹ See Max Müller's *Ramakrishna*, p. 40, for another instance

² In a passage of the Mahâparinib Sutta (iii. 22) which is probably not very early the Buddha says that when he mixes with gods or men he takes the shape of his auditors, so that they do not know him

³ Sam. Nik. ii. 3. 10. Sadevalassa lokassa agga

⁴ E.g. in the Lotus Sutra.

hnt it is hard to say how far it was systematized before his time. The greatness of the position which he won and the importance of the institutions which he founded naturally caused his disciples to formulate the vague traditions about his predecessors. They were called indifferently Buddha, Jina, Arhat etc., and it was only after the constitution of the Buddhist church that these titles received fixed meanings.

Closely connected with the idea of the Buddha or Jina is that of the Mahāpurusha or great man. It was supposed that there are born from time to time supermen distinguished by physical marks who become either universal monarchs (cakravartin) or teachers of the truth. Such a prediction is said to have been made respecting the infant Gotama and all previous Buddhas. The marks are duly catalogued, as thirty two greater and eighty¹ smaller signs. Many of them are very curious. The hair is glossy black, the tongue is so long that it can lick the ears, the arms reach to the knees in an ordinary upright position, the skin has a golden tinge, there is a protuberance on the skull and a smaller one like a ball, between the eyebrows. The long arms may be compared with the Persian title rendered in Latin by Longimanus² and it is conceivable that the protuberances on the head may have been personal peculiarities of Gotama. For though the thirty two marks are mentioned in the Pitakas as well known signs establishing his claims to eminence, no description of them has been found in any pre-Buddhist work³ and they may have been modified to suit his personal appearance. At any rate it is clear that the early generations of Buddhists considered that the Master conformed to the type of the Mahāpurusha and attached importance to the fact⁴. The Pitakas repeatedly allude to the knowledge of

¹ One hundred and eight marks on the sole of each foot are also enumerated in later writings.

² Artaxerxes Longimanus. Cf. the Russian princely name Dolgorouki. The Chinese also attribute forty-nine physical signs of perfection to Confucius, including long arms. See Doré *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, vol. XIII, pp. 2-6.

³ Though Brahmins are represented as experts in these marks, it seems likely that the idea of the Mahāpurusha was popular chiefly among the Kshatriyas, for in one form, at any rate, it teaches that a child of the warrior caste born with certain marks will become either a universal monarch or a great teacher of the truth. This notion must have been most distasteful to the priestly caste.

See Dig. Nik. 3. The Lakkhana Suttanta (Dig. Nik. 30) contains a discussion of the marks.

these marks as forming a part of Brahmanic training and in the account of the previous Buddha Vipassî they are duly enumerated. These ideas about a Great Man and his characteristics were probably current among the people at the time of the Buddha's birth. They do not harmonize completely with later definitions of a Buddha's nature, but they show how Gotama's contemporaries may have regarded his career

In the older books of the Pitakas six Buddhas are mentioned as preceding Gotama¹, namely Vipassî, Sikhî, Vessabhû, Kakusandha, Konâgamana and Kassapa. The last three at least may have some historical character. The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien, who visited India from 405 to 411 A D, saw their reputed birth-places and says that there still existed followers of Devadatta (apparently in Kosala) who recognized these three Buddhas but not Gotama. Asoka erected a monument in honour of Konâgamana in Nepal with a dedicatory inscription which has been preserved. In the Majjhima-Nikâya² we find a story about Kakusandha and his disciples and Gotama once gave³ an extended account of Vipassî, whose teaching and career are represented as almost identical with his own. Different explanations have been given of this common element. There is clearly a wish to emphasize the continuity of the Dhamma and the similarity of its exponents in all ages. But are we to believe that the stories, true or romantic, originally told of Gotama were transferred to his mythical forerunners or that before his birth there was a Buddha legend to which the account of his career was accommodated? Probably both processes went on simultaneously. The notices of the Jain saints show that there must have been such legends and traditions independent of Gotama. To them we may refer things like the miracles attending birth. But the general outline of the Buddha's career, the departure from home, struggle for enlightenment and hesitation before preaching, seem to be a reminiscence of Gotama's actual life rather than an earlier legend.

There is an interesting discourse describing the wonders that attend the birth of a Buddha⁴, such as that he passes from the Tusita heaven to his mother's womb, that she must die seven

¹ See *Dîḥ Nig* 14, *Mahâpadânasutta* Therag 490, *Sam Nîk* XII 4-10

² *Maj Nîk* 50, *Mûratajjaniasuttam*

³ *Dîḥ Nîk* 14

⁴ *Maj Nîk* 123 See also *Dîḥ Nîk* 14

days after his birth that she stands when he is born and so on. We may imagine that the death of the mother is due to the historical fact that Gotama's mother did so die while the other circumstances are embellishments of the old Buddha and Mahāpuruṣa legend. But the construction of this sūta is curious. The monks in the Jetavana are talking of the wondrous powers possessed by Buddhas. Gotama enters and asks what is the subject of their discourse. They tell him and he bids Ānanda describe more fully the wondrous attributes of a Buddha. Ānanda gives a long list of marvels and at the end Gotama observes, 'Take note of this too as one of the wondrous attributes of a Buddha, that he has his feelings, perceptions and thoughts under complete control!'

No passage has yet been adduced from the sūttas mentioning more than seven Buddhas but later books such as the Buddha vaṃsa and the introduction to the Jātaka describe twenty five². There are twenty four Jain Tīrthankaras and according to some accounts twenty four incarnations of Viṣṇu. Probably all these lists are based on some calculation as to the proper allowance of saints for an aeon. The biographies of these Buddhas are brief and monotonous. For each sage they record the number of his followers, the name of his city, parents and chief disciples, the tree under which he attained enlightenment, his height and his age, both in extravagant figures. They also record how each met Gotama in one of his previous births and prophesied his future glory. The object of these biographies is less to give information about previous Buddhas than to trace the career of Gotama as a Bodhisattva. This career began in the time of Dipankara, the first of the twenty five Buddhas incalculable ages ago when Gotama was a hermit called Sumedha. Seeing that the road over which Dipankara had to pass was dirty, he threw himself down in the mire in order that the Buddha might tread on him and not soil his feet. At the same time he made a resolution to become a Buddha and received from Dipankara the assurance that ages afterwards his

¹ More literally that he knows exactly how his feelings, etc. arise, continue and pass away and is not swayed by wandering thoughts and desires.

² Three extra Buddhas are sometimes mentioned but are usually ignored because they did not, like the others, come into contact with Gotama in his previous births.

wish would be fulfilled. This incident, called pranidhâna or the vow to become a Buddha, is frequently represented in the frescoes found in Central Asia.

The history of this career is given in the introduction to the Jâtaka and in the late Pali work called the Cariyâ-piṭaka, but the suttas make little reference to the topic. They refer incidentally to Gotama's previous births¹ but their interest clearly centres in his last existence. They not infrequently use the word Bodhisattva to describe the youthful Gotama or some other Buddha before the attainment of Buddhahood, but in later literature it commonly designates a being now existing who will be a Buddha in the future. In the older phase of Buddhism attention is concentrated on a human figure which fills the stage, but before the canon closes we are conscious of a change which paves the way for the Mahâyâna. Our sympathetic respect is invited not only for Gotama the Buddha, but for the struggling Bodhisattva who, battling towards the goal with incredible endurance and self-sacrifice through lives innumerable, at last became Gotama.

It is only natural that the line of Buddhas should extend after as well as before Gotama. In the Piṭakas there are allusions to such a posterior series, as when for instance we hear² that all Buddhas past and to come have had and will have attendants like Ânanda, but Metteya the Buddha of the future has not yet become an important figure. He is just mentioned in the Dîgha Nikâya and Buddha-Vamsa and the Milinda Pañha quotes an utterance of Gotama to the effect that "He will be the leader of thousands as I am of hundreds," but the quotation has not been identified.

The Buddhas enumerated are supreme Buddhas (Sammâsam-buddha) but there is another order called Pacceka (Sanskrit Pratyeka) or private Buddhas. Both classes attain by their own exertions to a knowledge of the four truths but the Pacceka Buddhas are not, like the supreme Buddhas, teachers of mankind and omniscient³. Their knowledge is confined to what is necessary for their own salvation and perfection. They are

¹ *E.g.* Ang Nik. III 15 and the Mahâ Sudassana Sutta (Dîg. Nik. x) in which the Buddha says he has been buried at Kusinâra no less than six times.

² Dîg. Nik. XVI v 15.

³ The two kinds of Buddhas are defined in the Puggala-Pannatti, IX 1. For details about Pratyeka-Buddhas see De La Vallée Poussin's article in *E R E*.

mentioned in the Nikāyas as worthy of all respect¹ but are not prominent in either the earlier or later works which is only natural seeing that by their very definition they are self-centred and of little importance for mankind. The idea of the private Buddha however is interesting inasmuch as it implies that even when the four truths are not preached they still exist and can be discovered by anyone who makes the necessary mental and moral effort. It is also noticeable that the superiority of a supreme Buddha lies in his power to teach and help others. A passionless and self-centred sage falls short of the ideal.

¹ Thus in Dig. Nik. xvi. 5, 12 they are declared worthy of a Dīgaba or funeral monument and Sam. Nik. iii. 2, 10 declares the efficacy of alms given to them.